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## **The courtier in early Tudor society, illustrated from select examples.**

Brock, Richard Egbert

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"The Courtier in Early Tudor Society,  
Illustrated from Select Examples."

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by

Richard Egbert Brock, M.A.(London)

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(Abstract of Thesis) "The Courtier in Early Tudor Society, Illustrated from Select Examples."

This thesis is a comparative examination of the origins, educations and careers of six of Henry VIII's courtiers, namely Thomas, Lord Audley of Walden, lord chancellor, Sir Anthony Browne, master of the horse and captain of the gentlemen pensioners, Sir Thomas, Cheyne, treasurer of the household and lord warden of the Cinque ports, Sir Anthony Denny, chief gentleman of the privy chamber, William Fitzwilliam, earl of Southampton, treasurer of the household, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, lord admiral, lord privy seal, and Sir John Wallop, captain of Guisnes.

The study casts light on the social backgrounds, upbringings and family connections of the early Tudor courtiers, the running of various parts of the king's household, honours and titles, national and local offices and the manner of their discharge, politics and religion, the composition and working of parliament, central and local administration, state trials, embassies abroad, and military and naval service. Considerable attention has also been devoted to the landed property held by these men, its location, value, yield and the method of obtaining it. All were in more or less favourable positions to obtain a share of the monastic spoils and special attention has been given to the lands so acquired. Other forms of income, principally salaries and profits attaching to offices, but also commercial ventures and other sources have been examined.

There are also short chapters on amusements, bodily infirmities and funeral and memorial customs encountered in connection with the six selected men.

Appended is an account roll of Fitzwilliam's household steward at Guildford from the year 1529-30, to be found in the Public Records Office, but unpublished and uncalendared.

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### Footnote Abbreviations

<u>A.P.C.</u>	<u>Acts of the Privy Council of England.</u> (ed.J.R.Dasent)
B.M.	British Museum Manuscripts Department.
<u>C.Inq.P.M.</u>	<u>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem.</u>
<u>C.P.R.</u>	<u>Calendar of Patent Rolls.</u>
C.R.O.	Central Registry Office (Somerset House).
<u>C.S.P.</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers</u> (Various;foreign and domestic). In the case of <u>C.S.P. Venetian</u> volume number is followed by item number. In all other cases volume number is followed by page number.
<u>D.N.B.</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography.</u>
<u>L.P.</u>	<u>Letters and Papers,Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.</u> Volume number is followed by item number. <u>L.P.I</u> refs. are to 2nd.ed. unless otherwise stated.
P.C.C.	Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. (Somerset House).
<u>P.P.C.</u>	<u>Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England</u> (ed.N.H.Nicolas)
P.R.O.	Public Records Office. Manuscripts are referred to by the call signs in use in the P.R.O. The classes of documents to which the call signs refer are set out in the bibliography.
<u>Valor E.</u>	<u>Valor Ecclesiasticus.</u>
<u>V.C.H.</u>	<u>Victoria County Histories.</u>

Other abbreviations are self explanatory.

Full titles of works, editions used and dates of publication, will be found in the bibliography.

## Chapter I      Courtiers and Councillors

The idea that the year 1485 was a turning point in English history so marked that it divided "medieval" from "modern" times has long since been abandoned by serious historians. The battle of Bosworth is no longer seen as marking the end of the middle ages. Of itself the battle, a very fortunate victory for the challenger for the throne, was not decisive. Its importance lay in the opportunity it gave to a man of remarkable character to re-establish a strong "medieval" monarchy.

Some writers have gone so far as to suggest that contemporary England barely noticed the battle, the importance of which was an invention of Bacon and later chroniclers.<sup>(1)</sup> This is unreasonably to exaggerate the obvious. Contemporary eyes could not see the importance of Bosworth because it could so easily have been just another stage in the wars of the Roses. As long ago as 1827 Henry Hallam observed that "the battle had in effect been a contest between one usurper and another, and England had little better prospect than a renewal of that desperate and interminable contention which pretences of hereditary right have so often entailed upon nations".<sup>(2)</sup> Only the future could reveal that the verdict of Bosworth was not to be reversed.

The knowledge that Bosworth was the foundation of Tudor fortunes has given it a fascination that has laid its spell on many historians. Wrote G.M.Trevelyan, "Here, indeed, was one of fortune's freaks: on a bare Leicestershire upland, a few thousand men in close conflict foot

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(1) J.D.Mackie The Earlier Tudors pp.6-7

(2) H.Hallam The Constitutional History of England (1827) (1884 ed.) I p.8.

to foot, while a few thousand more stood aside to watch the issue, sufficed to set upon the throne of England the greatest of her royal lines, that should guide her through a century of change down new and larger streams of destiny, undreamt of by any man who plied bow and bill that day in the old-world quarrel of York and Lancaster<sup>(1)</sup>."

For some older historians the verdict of Bosworth was that medieval was to give place to modern. Hallam saw Henry Tudor's reign as a period when a new and despotic system of government was built upon a foundation which Edward IV had laid.<sup>(2)</sup> J.R.Green, to whom the term "New Monarchy" has been attributed, was much less precise about the period of its origin, giving the title to the whole stretch of time from 1422 to 1540, and more specifically to the years 1471 to 1509. Later writers sometimes saw no new departure at all in the reign of the first Tudor. A.F.Pollard rejected the idea of a breach in the constitution, replacing it by the concept of a return to a governmental system of Plantagenet flavour.<sup>(3)</sup> Those who accept Pollard's view have gone on to insist on the essentially medieval character of Henry VIII's kingship and that of the earlier part of the reign of his son, the point of change being identified with the Reformation in England and a "Tudor revolution in<sup>(4)</sup> government" associated with the work of Thomas Cromwell.

While there is debate as to whether Henry VII was ever a new king in this sense, there is at least agreement that this king and his successors were served by new men. Although here also the Tudors were anticipated by the Yorkists, it is quite certain that Henry VII's

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(1) G.M.Trevelyan History of England (3rd.ed.1945) p.266.

(2) H.Hallam Constitutional History I pp.10-11 .

(3) See Mackie Earlier Tudors pp.6-7. (4) G.R.Elton The Tudor Revolution in Government .

courtiers were not the equivalents of the lords of bastard feudalism who dominated and troubled Lancastrian England. What exactly they were has occasioned various opinions. W.R.Busch, who published the first part of a never completed work on the Tudors in 1892, declared - "The men who stood foremost by the king's side to help and advise him ... were not chosen from the ranks of the great nobles of the realm ... the hereditary nobility had to make way before the talent of the statesman. In this (Henry VII) set the example to his successors, for the leading statesmen of the Tudors were men of low origin."<sup>(1)</sup> This is a translation from the original German, but by "low" origin we may take men of non-noble birth to be meant, and Busch says no more than this. It is interesting to see the development which followed. In 1906 H.A.L.Fisher declared that Henry VII's council contained some nobles but that its chief characteristic was a large preponderance of hardened and tested middle class ability.<sup>(2)</sup> The Tudor new men had been identified as middle class and with the discovery came the application of preconceptions which for long distorted the views of historians. J.H.Hexter, in his "Reappraisals in History" has pointed out that historians, Marxist and non-Marxist alike, rightly impressed by Marx's insight into the historic conflict of classes, have accepted with it his assumption that all historical change for the last thousand years could be explained in terms of a ceaseless conflict between the landed and the business classes, with the latter gradually, irregularly but uninterruptedly securing the upper hand. For the

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(1) W.R.Busch England under the Tudors (1895) p.295  
Translated by A.M.Todd from the German of 1892.

(2) H.A.L.Fisher History of England 1485-1547 pp.5-6.  
(1906)

application of this dogma to the sixteenth century, Hexter lays heavy responsibility on the shoulders of A.F.Pollard and his Factors in Modern History, which for fifty years established the marks of modernity as two - the emergence of the sovereign national state, and the advent of the middle class. Since the middle class must be pushing to the front it can have been no surprise to Pollard to notice that "The great ministers of Tudor times, the Cromwells, the Cecils, the Walsinghams, all<sup>(1)</sup> spring from the new middle, and not the old feudal class".

By the time Gladys Temperley published her biography of Henry VII in 1914, the Marxist theory was in full control. "(Henry VII) drew his strength from the loyalty of dwellers in field and city, not from the towers and walls of medieval castles or the leadership of feudal hosts. The influence of capital was fast changing the basis of society ... from the decay of feudally organised society the middle class emerged ... The class which had thus obtained wealth found the path to political power opening before them, and, owing to certain peculiar features of English society ... their representatives in the House of Commons had the strength that came from the union of the landed gentry with the wealthy townsmen. In an era of transition, therefore, Henry VII enlisted the support of the class that was rising while he levelled the last outstanding feudal figures to whom the past belonged ... this ornamental nobility was balanced by an official class. Merchant blood ran in the veins of the Tudors themselves and gave them sympathy with men of non-noble birth. The important offices of state were given to men

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(1) A.F. Pollard Factors in Modern History (1907).

of comparatively obscure birth, who owed everything to the king."<sup>(1)</sup>

During the period between the world wars a reaction took place. Its effects may be observed in D.L.Keir's Constitutional History of Modern Britain first published in 1938, in which he referred to the decline of the baron-age and the rise of a new class of minor landowners from the traders and monied men in the towns and ports of the south east, obtaining estates from older families by purchase and foreclosure and linking with the existing knights and squires. "The connexion, always intimate, between the men of moderate property in town and country was drawn ever closer. These two elements in society had many objects in common, the first of which was the restoration of regular and effective administration and of peace and plenty. Their loyalty and co-operation was the prize awaiting any dynasty of rulers which could show vigour, good sense and the will to be obeyed. Lacking the political traditions of the great aristocracy, they were content to allow the Crown the fullest control over the central government, and to second its efforts locally as Justices of the Peace or officers of the shirelevy or in other subordinate positions of authority. From among them were drawn the most competent and devoted servants of the Tudor sovereigns at home and abroad. The Tudor house of Lords gradually recruited from this source a new nobility, closely bound to the Crown by ties of loyalty and interest more compelling than any the older aristocracy had ever known. The Tudor house of Commons was filled with men similarly permeated by the

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(1) Gladys Temperley Henry VII pp.244-5. (1914)

sense of partnership and co-operation with the dynasty which expressed and made effective their ruling prejudices and desires."<sup>(1)</sup> It is a long way from Gladys Temperley's bourgeois king clearing the wreckage of feudal power from the path of a rising middle class, by implication conscious of itself as such, to Keir's competent dynasty, drawing its support from men of substance because it could provide stable and ordered government.

The post 1945 historians have pointed out the dangerously sweeping nature of the "Rising Middle Class" theory and have attacked its assumptions in general and in detail. The new viewpoint has even made its way into the textbooks.<sup>(2)</sup> Its most thorough exposition is to be found in J.H.Hexter's "The Myth of the Middle Class in Tudor England",<sup>(3)</sup> which shows the shaky nature of the foundations on which the Pollardian thesis has for so long stood, and the ways in which its exponents have sustained and developed it. The Marxian middle class was commercial, or "bourgeois", but under the pressure of facts which will not fit theory the term has become widened until it no longer has much meaning. Already, in Gladys Temperley's work, the middle class included the gentry, the landed proprietors below the aristocracy, and in its latest manifestation the rising middle class is identified with the gentry.<sup>(4)</sup> The term can be made to include anybody, even monarchs, with mercantile blood, two or three generations back if need be, unless the individual is required to do duty as a specimen of dilapidated feudalism, when the merchant ancestor can be forgotten. Even the logical fallacy of the undistributed

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- (1) D.L.Keir Constitutional History of Modern Britain (1938) pp.6-7. (2) G.R.Elton England under the Tudors pp.257-258. (3) In J.H.Hexter Reappraisals in History (1961) (4) R.H.Tawney The Rise of the Gentry 1558-1640; this work and the controversy it produced are dealt with in "Storm Over the Gentry" (Hexter Reappraisals) wherein all relevant references are given.

middle appears; business men are middle class: business men (sometimes) become rich: to become rich is to be middle class.

inbau! Hexter points out that, as far back as we can trace, some merchants were becoming landed gentry and some landed aristocrats were falling into ruin. There is nothing specially significant about the process in the sixteenth century. On the other hand is the simple but massive fact that from the dark ages to the nineteenth century, political consequence was linked with the tenure of land. There was in Tudor England no advancing middle class, but only a movement of middle class men into the landed gentry and nobility, a movement which weakened the middle class by depriving it of its most successful men, those who would have been its leaders had it been a politically conscious force.

If there was no rising Tudor middle class, there were certainly rising men, and it is perhaps in the royal council that their advent is most significant. G.M.Trevelyan wrote of a new constitution in Tudor days, working through old forms and pivoting on the council. The council had become the battlefield of noble factions under the Lancastrians but the Yorkists and Tudors were able to exclude from it nobles not of their own choice and under Henry VII the chief councillors had been middle class clergy of the civil servant type, or lawyers. This pattern continued until the clergy became less prominent after the Reformation.<sup>(1)</sup> C.H.Williams declared - "Instead of calling to his council the nobles who regarded it as their right to be present, (Henry VII) struck

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(1) G.M.Trevelyan History of England pp.275-6. (3 rd. ed.)  
(First published 1926)



out on bold lines. His council consisted of anyone whom the king wished to call in for advise and the nucleus of his advisers consisted of a band of men who owed to the king their positions and all their hopes of promotion."<sup>(1)</sup> K.W.M.Pickthorn observed - "Men, all of whose importance arose from the royal service, were always the majority of Henry's council."<sup>(2)</sup> For K.Feiling, - "Here was the working heart of government, the Council sitting day by day, whether in the King's presence or in Star Chamber ... In the late fifteenth century Council changed not so much in legal power as in composition and strength. Political reasons made it possible for the Lancastrian Parliaments to name the Council and assign its functions, but political causes broke that sort of control down. Yorkists and Tudors composed it as they pleased, Henry VII hardly allowed any nobles on it, and its usual attendance was a small circle of about ten officials and lawyers, with an outer ring of 'ordinary councillors', whose work lay in Star Chamber or on special commissions."<sup>(3)</sup>

The "new men" who served the Tudors were indeed drawn from the middle ranks in town and country. When they had made their fortunes in royal service, they almost invariably emerged as landowners of consequence, especially after the monastic dissolution, but they never became feudal barons. The Tudor monarchs chose men of this sort to serve them, not because they were thrust upon them by a powerful and advancing middle class, still less because the Tudors felt themselves to be middle class, but because they were the sort of people with whom the

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(1) C.H.Williams The Making of the Tudor Despotism p.22 (1928)

(2) K.W.M.Pickthorn Early Tudor Government I pp.29-30 (1934)

(3) K.Feiling History of England p.351. (1950)

crown could co-operate and on whom it could usually depend. They were not chosen as leaders of the middle class, which had no leaders, and when they held office and power it was derived only from the king. The old nobility was finished as a political force which could make head against the new dynasty, even though it could produce tremors in the state as late as 1569. Casualties in the wars of the Roses and the natural extinction of ancient lines had wasted it down thoroughly by 1485. The process continued under the Tudors, losses being particularly high amongst those who had the misfortune to own Plantagenet blood.

The Tudor age straddles the period of transition from old to new, from medieval to modern, in English history. It was the achievement of the founder of the dynasty to re-establish the power of the crown on medieval foundations and to attract to it the support of the majority of Englishmen. Within a framework of law and order, England under his successors assumed its post medieval form. The nation was unified politically, the royal writ ran everywhere, parliament was well launched on its progress to omnicompetence, lay sovereignty brought the church within its grasp, and the country turned its back on continental adventures to look beyond the seas.

The confidence in the crown and loyalty to their house which the first two Tudors built up is amply demonstrated by the ludicrously swift collapse in 1553, of an attempt by a man who had held the real power in the state for over three years, to set aside the main Tudor

line. The people of England, especially those of the more economically advanced south east, had experienced the worth of Tudor government. Stability and order were provided by powerful personalities on the throne and a vigorous application of royal authority through ministers, councils and commissions, whose members might occasionally desert, but which were instruments which never broke in the prince's hands or were wrested from his grasp to be turned against him. Having known such rule England would accept no other as long as the Tudor line lasted.

One of the strongest assets of this wonderful dynasty was its ability to find able and loyal servants, and they found them for the most part among those of humble or moderately gentle birth. A rapid glance at those men who served Henry VII, and in some cases his son as well, shows that this was the case from the start. Edward Poynings was the grandson of a baron but son of a man who had served Jack Cade; Thomas Lovell, Giles Daubeney, Richard Edgecumbe, Reginald Bray, John Morton, William Warham, Edmund Dudley, Richard Guildford and Richard Nanfan were all sons of men of some local importance and in a few cases ancient family. Richard Empson's father was probably a man of wealth, John Alcock was son of a Hull burgess, Richard Fox came of yeoman stock, Oliver king was a Londoner of obscure birth and Christopher Urswick's parents were a lay brother and sister of Furness abbey. The same mixture of lesser gentility and obscurity is the mark of Henry VIII's leading councillors: Wolsey and Cromwell are well known instances. Charles

Brandon, son of a squire killed at Bosworth, Thomas Boleyn, grandson of a London merchant, Thomas Cranmer, of an old but unimportant Notts family, John, son of Edmund Dudley, William Herbert, son of an earl's bastard, Rowland Lee, son of a receiver general at Berwick, William Paget, obscurely born, William Parr and William Paulet, knights' sons, William Petre, whose father was said to have been a tanner, Richard Rich, also grandson to a London merchant, John Russell, of an old west of England family, Edward and Thomas Seymour, sons of a knight, Cuthbert Tunstall, illegitimate by birth, Thomas Wriothesley, son of a York herald, and Stephen Gardiner, whose father was reputed to have been an East Anglian cloth worker, were all men who had little if any family fortune or influence on which to found their careers. Ability was the key to success for most of them.

The origins and careers of many of the greatest Tudor courtiers and servants have been examined in some detail. In this thesis an attempt will be made to go as deeply as possible into the histories of some of the "second raters", to see how Tudor life and Tudor government looked from the viewpoint of those ministers who were never "prime ministers", to examine the not unimportant parts which they played in keeping that government effectively in existence, and to see what are the features which their stories exhibit in common with each other. The men selected passed their careers mainly in the service of the second Tudor king, by which time the new dynasty had settled in completely and the leading men were no longer those who had shared Henry Tudor's exile.

Almost, but not quite at random, six names, all met with in a piece of research done into the career of a churchman civil servant under Henry VIII,<sup>(1)</sup> were selected for study. Qualifications for selection were few. Those chosen had to be non-noble in origin, to have had a definite career in the royal service, and to have been laymen. The last requirement was introduced because the future was more with the laity than with the churchmen.

The names chosen were; -

Thomas Audley; lord chancellor, baron Audley of Walden.

Here the choice was not honestly at random, for Audley seems, prima facie, such a perfect example of the new man, rising from burgess of Colchester to a peerage and the most dignified ministerial rank.

Sir Anthony Browne; master of the horse to the king, captain of the gentlemen pensioners.

Sir Thomas Cheyne; lord warden of the Cinque ports, treasurer of the royal household.

Sir Anthony Denny; chief gentleman of the privy chamber.

William Fitzwilliam; earl of Southampton, lord admiral, treasurer of the household, lord privy seal.

Sir John Wallop; captain of Guisnes.

Thomas Audley was born at Earls Colne near Colchester in Essex<sup>(2)</sup> in 1488, presumably at Hay House, the possession of his father Geoffrey Audley, who had settled there about 1480.<sup>(3)</sup> Geoffrey does not seem to have had much land, if any, for Thomas stated in his will that he had no "old inheritance."<sup>(4)</sup> Thomas was said to have

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(1) R.E. Brock "John Tayler, Master of the Rolls". Unpublished M.A. thesis. University of London 1950.

(2) From his epitaph in Saffron Walden church; J. Weever Funeral Monuments pp. 381-2 (ed. 1767)

(3) C.H. & T. Cooper Athenae Cantabrigiensis I p. 83.

(4) AL. Reade "The Audley Family", Notes and Queries 1927 (2) p. 345. (4) Thomas Audley's will, C.R.O., P.C.C.,

passed some time at Buckingham College, Cambridge, which he later refounded as Magdalene College.<sup>(1)</sup> He also became qualified in the common law and a member of the Inner Temple.<sup>(2)</sup> He was admitted a burgess of Colchester in 1514-15 and was town clerk in 1524.<sup>(3)</sup>

Anthony Denny was the second son of Sir Edmund Denny, a baron of the exchequer, and his wife Mary Troutbeck. He was born in 1501, probably at Cheshunt in Herts<sup>(4)</sup> and educated at the newly founded St. Paul's school under William Lily, in company with Thomas Lupset and Edward North, both about six years his senior, and William Paget and John Leland, each some five years younger than Denny.<sup>(5)</sup> He proceeded to St. John's College at Cambridge and proved himself an excellent scholar, but did not take a degree.<sup>(6)</sup>

Thomas Cheyne was a man of Kent, the son by a second<sup>(7)</sup> wife of William Cheyne of Shurland in the Isle of Sheppey. The family, which had a collateral link with the Tudors,<sup>(8)</sup> had been settled in the Isle since the fourteenth century when a Cheyne had married the heiress of Shurland. Thomas' mother was Margaret Yonge. His father's first wife was Isabella, daughter of Sir Geoffrey Boleyn, by whom he had a son, Francis.<sup>(9)</sup> Thomas' grandfather, Sir John Cheyne of Eastchurch in Sheppey and Woodhay, Berks, father of nine sons, was pardoned for being out with Jack Cade.<sup>(10)</sup> William died in 1487, when Francis was five years old.<sup>(11)</sup> The brothers then passed into the care

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- (1) Cooper's inference, presumably from Audley's refoundation. (2) W. Dugdale *Origines Juridicales* p.164. (3) W. G. Benham *Oath Book of Colchester* p.147 & *Red Paper Book* p.29. (4) D. N. B. & J. G. Nichols *Topographer and Genealogist* III p.120. (5) R. B. Gardiner *Admission Register of St. Paul's School 1748-1876* pp.17-19. (6) D. N. B. (Source not given). (7) W. Berry *Kent Genealogies* p.125. (8) *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica* I pp.313-14. (9) *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds* I & 1529. (10) J. C. Wedgwood *History of Parliament; Biographies of Members of the Commons House 1439-1507* p.181. (11) *C. Inq. P. M. Henry VII. II* No. 247

of their uncle, John Cheyne, and this would seem to have been their passport to royal service. John Cheyne had served Edward IV, had returned from exile with Henry Tudor, been at Bosworth and Stoke and served in Brittany and Flanders. He died in 1499, a baron, and a knight of the Garter.<sup>(1)</sup> Holinshed asserted that Thomas was brought up in Henry VII's court as one of his henchmen.<sup>(2)</sup> It seems reasonable to assume that the same was true of Francis. Both young men were esquires of the body in Henry VII's funeral procession.<sup>(3)</sup> Thomas must have accompanied his uncle to Brittany, for in later years it was said that he passed his early youth in France, and in 1513, during the naval operations against Brest, he met with "acquaintance at the queen of France court", the queen then being Anne, duchess of Brittany.<sup>(4)</sup>

William Fitzwilliam was one of the sons of Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam of Aldwark in Yorkshire and of Lucy Neville, one of the daughters of John Neville, marquess Montagu, brother of the "kingmaker".<sup>(5)</sup> His father's family was of no great consequence but held some lands. William was brought up in the royal court from the age of ten with the future Henry VIII.<sup>(6)</sup> He served him in various capacities from the beginning of his reign. Sir Thomas died some time between 1496 and 1498 and his widow married Sir Anthony Browne, the king's standard bearer, which may have had some bearing on the selection of William Fitzwilliam as a companion for the young prince.<sup>(7)</sup>

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(1) W. Dugdale The Baronage of England III. p. 290

(2) R. Holinshed Chronicles IV p. 157. (3) L.P. I; p. 20 (p. 14)

(4) A. Spont Letters and Papers p. 148, L.P. XVIII. i. 259.

(5) C. Parkin The County of Norfolk VII p. 517. (6) L.P. III; 1160. (7) The statement, made in more than one work, that Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam of Aldwark was speaker of the commons house, arises from a confusion with a Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam of Mablethorpe, Lincs. See Wedgwood History of Parliament; Biographies pp. 336-7.

Anthony Browne was the son of the aforesaid Sir Anthony Browne, and Lucy, formerly Fitzwilliam. The elder Browne was knighted for his conduct at Stoke and died at Calais in 1506. The Brownes had been gentry for several<sup>(1)</sup> generations and were established at Beechworth in Surrey. Sir Thomas Browne, grandfather to our Sir Anthony, had been treasurer of the household to Henry VI and was himself the grandson in the male line of a rich London merchant knighted by Richard II.<sup>(2)</sup> An appointment as master of a royal hunt in Yorks in 1518 is a strong hint that Browne was already in royal service by that date.

John Wallop was the son of Stephen Wallop, of a family that had been gentry in Hampshire since the thirteenth century, supplying knights and burgesses to parliament in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and sheriffs under the Tudors. His uncle, Sir Robert, was thrice sheriff under Henry VII. John ultimately inherited the not very extensive family lands.<sup>(3)</sup> His name appears on the pardon roll of 1509 and he had command of a ship of war in 1513.<sup>(4)</sup>

The families from which our six men came were, for the most part, country gentry, well established over long periods in their particular localities. With the exception of the presumably Yorkshire born Fitzwilliam, all came from the south east of England. In this established country gentry class we can place Browne, Cheyne, Fitzwilliam and Wallop, so most were not bourgeois, although the Browne's descent was from a Fourteenth century London merchant, younger son to a Cumberland landowner.

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(1) B. Burke Extinct Peerage I p.78. (2) J. Roundell Cowdray  
 (3) A. Collins Peerage of England p.291 (4) L.P.I; 438 (2 m.  
 21), 1496, 1661 (4), E. Hall Chronicle p.535.



The most suspect claim to gentility is Audley's, for the first of his family definitely established at Earls Colne was his father, and probably not in any capacity beyond that of householder. Thomas appears as "Gent." in the burgesses oath book of Colchester in 1514-5, but we can scarcely class his election as a burgess in parliament for the town in 1523 as an early example of the invasion of borough seats by the gentry. Denny stands a little more certainly on the ladder of gentility. His grandfather was of Cheshunt and knighted in Henry V's wars in France.<sup>(1)</sup> His father, the common lawyer, was a younger son who did well in his chosen profession. It is significant that these two, Audley and Denny, are distinguished from the rest in a number of ways beyond their less sure gentility, and possibly in consequence thereof. In the first place, they entered the royal service much later in life. Whereas Fitzwilliam certainly and Cheyne probably were in Henry VII's court in childhood, while Wallop appears as a king's spear in 1514 and was surely in his service before this, and Browne was in the household at the latest by his twenties, we discover that Denny was thirty three years old before we can be certain that he had reached the court, and Audley was thirty eight before he became legal counsel in the council in the marches of Wales in 1525. It seems that what was given to the four through family connection had to be earned by the less fortunate two.

It may well be that even the merit which ultimately advanced the latters' careers would not have availed had it not rested on the foundation of a good education. Both Audley and Denny were university trained and the

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(1) B.Burke Extinct Peerage. I p.164.

former had as well the intellectual discipline of the common law. The day had not yet come when sons of the gentry crowded into the universities, and the sort of education which Cheyne, Fitzwilliam, Browne and Wallop received would have been of the older pattern, obtained by residence in the house of some gentleman or noble and primarily designed, like that given to henchmen in the royal household, to fit them for life in court and camp. This does not mean that they were uncultured. Fitzwilliam was brought up with Henry VIII whose education was sound. But these men had not the interest in learning which Audley showed in his refoundation of a Cambridge college and establishment of a grammar school at Colchester, and Denny by his literary friendships and his efforts to protect Sedbergh school.

In contrast to the common factors in Audley and Denny which we have noted in their backgrounds and educations, in their actual careers they show a more marked difference from each other than do any of the others we are considering. Audley was, as chancellor, largely a judge and an administrator, a courtier in virtue of his office and his membership of the inner council. Denny spent most of his time at court as a close personal servant of the king, winning Henry's favour by his character and personality.

To examine the careers of our six chosen men is to receive the strong impression that here was the kind of man who, immediately below the highest level, governed and administered the England of their day. None were of the stature of Wolsey, Cromwell, Northumberland or Burghley, but such great ones were deliberately avoided

in making the selection. Although five of the six were privy councillors, it is not easy to assess what their influence counted for in policy making. As individuals they probably had small weight, being the second raters, the executors of policy rather than its makers. On the other hand, as members of political groups their opinions might add up to something more significant. Fitzwilliam was the only one among them who was ever considered to be a chief minister, and this was in the post Cromwell period when Henry was refusing to give his undivided confidence to anyone. There is no sign that Fitzwilliam ever had decisive influence in a matter of importance. Cheyne survived longest on the privy council after its clear emergence in 1540, but he was repeatedly out-distanced by other men. Browne, one of the catholics included by Henry in the council he named for his son, was the first to surrender authority to the protestant Edward Seymour in 1547. Nevertheless this was the kind of man on whom the government relied to translate its will into action, the kind of man who commonly held high command in England's fleets and armies, took leading parts in council and parliament, represented her abroad, dealt with civil disturbance and religious upheaval, did much of the judicial work outside of the common and canon law courts and administered that ample governance which was the Tudor dynasty's most appreciated contribution to the common weal.

These administrative duties were in part carried out at the centre of government. Audley, the chancellor, best illustrates this side of their work. Much of his duty

was judicial, but a great deal of administrative work came his way. Like the others, he took his share in seeing that the royal will was carried out. But action at the centre needs translation to the extremities if it is to mean anything, and here again our men had their part to play. They were all on the panel of justices of the peace for their own counties and sometimes for others as well, and they were placed on many other permanent and ad hoc bodies. They could not always be present, but they might so be and sometimes were. Their occasional attendance kept their neighbours up to the scratch, but since they usually served in their own localities their presence was not resented as would have been that of a strange royal officer.

One important aspect of Tudor government is very scantily illustrated by the careers of our chosen six. Save for Audley's brief service on the council in the marches of Wales and Browne's brief visit to the north of England in 1537, they took no part in the important provincial extensions of conciliar rule, although Fitzwilliam and Wallop were much concerned with Calais.

Since they were the king's men and spent their lives in his service, it was incumbent upon him to support and reward them. He had a variety of means at his command to satisfy them, and he usually employed them all in each case. The household servant was entitled to board and lodging at the king's expense, and sometimes to gifts of clothing as well. There were many offices in the royal service, either in the royal household, in the departments which had gone out of court, or on the king's

estates. Some involved real duties, some were sinecures, most could be performed by deputy, but they all carried salaries and often had attached to them other profits of office and perquisites. These fruits could be supplemented by pensions and gifts as well as by grants of royal land. Since our men were laymen, the church benefices which, often held in plural, had supported many a royal servant, were closed to them, but they were admirably placed to benefit from the spoliation of the church which marked the mid-Tudor period. It was the income from land, much of it acquired in these years, that formed the core of their often formidable fortunes.

In religion they covered the spectrum of the post reformation period. Denny was an earnest protestant and Audley a political protestant. Fitzwilliam was a trimmer Cheyne a mild conservative, Browne a definite catholic and Wallop had papalist leanings. But it is to be noted that, whatever their religious standpoint, each and every one of them was content to receive and hold former church land. As we see the way in which most of them, representatives of a kind and a class of man essential to government in the sixteenth century, added acre to acre and manor to manor, the enormous vested interest in an independent national church becomes ever more plain.

These six men made their fortunes under Henry VIII. Did they thereby establish bases sufficiently firm for their descendants to become the hereditary landowning and governing class? Was the period the great seed time of latter day landlords and nobles? The field of study

to be surveyed before a confident answer to such questions can be given is vast. This can claim to be no more than a trial trench across the field, but it shows that the opportunities were provided and that men could and did take them. However, to establish a family's fortune is of no avail if the family fails to endure. Audley and Fitzwilliam gained peerages but died without legitimate male heirs, or any male heirs in the chancellor's case. Cheyne had a surviving son who achieved the rare distinction of an Elizabethan peerage, but Lord Cheyne of Toddington also achieved the distinction of the soubriquet "extravagant" in an age of conspicuous waste; had he not died childless the heir might have had precious little with which to support a title. Denny's grandson became a Stuart earl of Norwich, but he died without male issue and his title died with him. Wallop died childless. Only Browne, whose descendants were the Lords Montague of Battle and Cowdray and lasted almost into the nineteenth century, founded a lasting male line. The wastage was high and is a sharp reminder of the importance of chance in family history.

Thomas Audley

- 1488      Born at Earls Colne, Essex  
            Cambridge university
- 1514      Burgess of Colchester
- 1521 +     Justice of the peace, Essex
- 1523      Burgess in parliament for Colchester
- 1524      Town clerk, Colchester
- 1525      Member of the Inner Temple  
            On the council in the marches of Wales
- 1526-31   Attorney general, duchy of Lancaster
- 1529      Knight of the shire for Essex  
            Speaker of the commons.
- 1531      Serjeant at law. King's serjeant
- 1532-33   Keeper of the great seal. Knighted
- 1533-44   Lord chancellor
- 1538      Baron Audley of Walden
- 1540      Knight of the Garter
- 1544      Died at Christchurch, London.

Anthony Browne

- 1518 In royal service. Sent to Netherlands.
- 1519 With Sir Thomas Boleyn's embassy in France.
- 1520 At Cloth of Gold.
- 1522 Knighted after raid on Morlaix.
- 1526 + Gentleman of the privy chamber.
- 1527 Resident ambassador in France.
- 1532 + Justice of the peace, Surrey.
- 1533 With Norfolk's embassy in France.
- 1536 In operations against the northern rebels.
- 1537 Visited the northern Marches.
- 1538 Resident ambassador in France.
- 1539-48 Master of the horse.
- 1539 Knight of the shire for Surrey.
- 1540 Knight of the Garter.
- 1542 Knight of the shire for Surrey.
- Served under Norfolk against the Scots.
- 1544 Took part in the siege of Boulogne.
- 1545 Knight of the shire for Surrey.
- 1547 Executor of Henry VIII's will.
- Knight of the shire for Surrey.
- 1548 Died at Byfleet, Surrey.



Thomas Cheyne

- Henchman in Henry VII's household.
- 1509 Squire of the body at Henry VII's funeral.
- 1513 Commanded ship of war against France.
- 1513-14 Sent to the pope.
- 1515 Knighted
- 1515-16 Sheriff of Kent.
- 1518 Sent to the Netherlands.
- 1519 Sent to Italy.
- 1520 At Cloth of Gold.
- 1522 Resident ambassador in France.
- 1523 Served under Suffolk in war against France.
- 1526-39 Gentleman of the privy chamber.
- 1526 Resident ambassador in France.
- 1526 + Justice of the peace, Kent.
- 1536-58 Lord warden of the Cinque ports.
- 1539-58 Treasurer of the household.
- 1539 Knight of the shire for Kent.  
Knight of the Garter.
- 1544 Took part in siege of Montreuil.
- 1545 Knight of the shire for Kent.
- 1546 Special ambassador in France.
- 1547 Assistant executor of Henry VIII's will.  
Member of parliament.
- 1549 Ambassador to Charles V in the Netherlands.
- 1553 Knight of the shire for Kent.  
Ambassador to Charles V in the Netherlands.
- 1554 Knight of the shire for Kent.  
In operations against Wyatt's rebellion.
- 1558 Knight of the shire for Kent.  
Died in the Tower.

Anthony Denny

- 1501 Born, probably at Cheshunt, Herts.  
At St.Paul's school.  
At St.John's college, Cambridge.
- 1531 In the service of Sir Francis Brian.
- 1534 In royal service.
- 1535 Yeoman of the robes.
- 1536 Groom of the chamber.
- 1537-47 Gentleman of the privy chamber.
- 1544 At the siege of Boulogne. Knighted.
- 1547 Executor of Henry VIII's will.  
Knight of the shire for Herts.  
Justice of the peace, Herts and Essex.
- 1549 In operations against Ket's rebellion.  
Died.

William Fitzwilliam

- Brought up with the future Henry VIII.
- 1509 Gentleman usher at Henry VII's funeral.  
Cup bearer at Henry VIII's coronation.
- 1512 Served under Dorset in Spain and Guienne.  
King's spear
- 1513 Commanded ship of war against France. Served  
under Henry VIII in France. Knighted.
- 1514 + Justice of the peace in Surrey.
- 1518-19 With English embassy in France.
- 1520 Vice-admiral to the earl of Surrey.  
At Cloth of Gold.
- 1521-22 Resident ambassador in France.
- 1522-23 Commanded the fleet in war against France.
- 1524-26 Lieutenant of Guisnes.
- 1525 Resident ambassador in France.
- 1525-37 Treasurer of the household.
- 1526 Knight of the Garter.
- 1529 Special ambassador to France with Suffolk.
- 1529-42 Chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.
- 1529 Knight of the Shire for Surrey.
- 1534 Special ambassador to France with Rochford.
- 1536 In operations against the northern rebels.
- 1536-40 Admiral of England.
- 1537 Earl of Southampton.
- 1539 Received Anne of Cleves at Calais.
- 1540-42 Lord privy seal.
- 1542 Died at Newcastle during preparations for  
invasion of Scotland by Norfolk.

John Wallop

- 1511      Possibly with Poynings' force in the Netherlands.
- 1513-14   Commanded ship of war against France.
- 1515      Sent to the Netherlands.
- 1516-18   In Portuguese service at Tangier.
- 1520-21   With Surrey in Ireland.
- 1522-23   Service by land and sea in war against France.
- 1524-30   Marshal of Calais.
- 1526-27   Embassy in central Europe.
- 1528      Gentleman on the privy chamber.  
            Special ambassador in France.
- 1530-31   Lieutenant of Calais castle.
- 1532-37   Resident ambassador in France.
- 1538 +     Justice of the peace, Hants.
- 1540-41   Resident ambassador in France.
- 1541      Arrested on suspicion of treason. Pardoned.
- 1541-51   Lieutenant of Guisnes.
- 1543      Commanded English contingent in siege of  
            Landrecies.  
            Knight of the Garter.
- 1551      Died at Guisnes.

## Chapter II. Household and Court

The six men who form the subject of this study were all courtiers and five of them were members of the royal household. All royal servants with any pretensions to power and influence were courtiers, for the king's court was the centre of power and influence in the England of that day.

The exception among them in that he was never an household servant was Thomas Audley. He was a lawyer whose career took him to the woolstack and the privy council, and therefore to the court. It was as a lawyer that he was in 1525 appointed to princess Mary's council in the Marches of Wales<sup>(1)</sup> and presumably as a lawyer that he is found as a member of Wolsey's household in 1527.<sup>(2)</sup>

The household fell into two main divisions. The household proper was that "below stairs"; presided over in theory by the lord steward. The chamber, or household "above stairs", was under the control of the lord chamberlain, and was itself sub-divided into the "King's side" and the smaller "queen's side". The innermost room on the king's side was the king's bed chamber, wherein also slept one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber on a pallet or folding bed. He was also the groom of the (close) stool. All attendants on duty in the royal apartments at night slept in such folding beds. In the ante-chamber to the bed chamber slept a groom, and in the next room, the privy chamber, slept the gentlemen of the privy chamber. This last office seems to have originated in Henry

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(1) F. Madden Privy Purse Expenses of Princess Mary p. xxxix. (2) L.P. IV .p.1331, IV;3324(12). The Thomas Audley who in 1527 appears as a groom of the chamber can scarcely be our man and may have been the same person as the Thomas Audley who was principal gentleman of the privy chamber under Edward VI. W.C. Richardson. History of the Court of Augmentations 1536-54 p.360

VIII's reign. The number of the gentlemen had been reduced to seven by the Eltham Ordinances of 1526, which were avowedly economy measures, but by 1532 they had been increased to fourteen and by 1545 to eighteen.<sup>(1)</sup> The increased numbers were the more reasonable for the duties were exacting. From 1532 gentlemen were expected if permissibly absent to find substitutes from among their fellows. Since they were not uncommonly away from court on king's business, those who remained must often have had to do longer than the laid down six week tours of duty. The Eltham Ordinances laid down these duties in some detail. They were to be ready by 7 a.m., or sooner if needed, to help the king dress in the privy chamber, no-one else presuming to touch the royal person. The king's clothes were brought to the door by the yeoman of the robes, taken by the grooms and by them handed to the gentlemen. Besides the gentlemen, two gentlemen ushers, four grooms, the barber and the page, nobody was to enter the privy chamber unless summoned. Persons of the privy

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- (1) L.P.IV;1939, V;927, XX.ii.Appx.2(1). E.K.Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage I.p.43, concluded that the gentlemen of the privy chamber were instituted between 1520 and 1526 on a French model. He pointed out that the list headed "Ordinary of the King's Train 1513" in N.Carlike An Enquiry into the place and quality of His Majesty's most honorable privy chamber is taken from B.M.Additional Ms.5738 f.263 v. which bears no date, is headed "The King's prevy chamber", and is part of the king's train to Boulogne, probably in 1544. We may note further that since the list includes "Sir" Thomas Cheyne and "Sir" Anthony Browne it cannot be as early as 1513, or even before 1522. Since it also includes Sir Henry Norris it cannot be after 1536, when he was executed. It must therefore refer to the visit to Boulogne and Calais in 1532. Chambers also notes that in his introduction to volume I (first ed.) of the Letters and Papers of Henry VIII J.S.Brewer made no distinction between gentlemen ushers of the chamber and gentlemen of the privy chamber, the latter not yet in being. A list from 1518 (L.P.II; 4409) of French and English names in parallel columns, gives six "Gentlemen of the Chamber" on each side. Chambers considered this list to be of French origin.

chamber were to be discreet, moderate in their pastimes and friendly to each other. This last was no empty formula in a quarrelsome age. In 1528, when Thomas Cheyne, one of the gentlemen from at least 1526, fell out with John Russell, Henry came down heavily against the former who had to confess his fault and compose his difference before he was allowed to return to the privy chamber, for the king would have no quarrelling amongst his gentlemen.<sup>(1)</sup>

Cheyne also featured in an episode which showed that the requirement of discretion also needed to be kept in mind. In 1536 the gentlemen presumed to talk among themselves about the highly dangerous succession problem. In May of that year Anne Boleyn had gone to the block and her daughter had been bastardized as Katherine of Aragon's had been four years before. The gentlemen discussed possibilities and agreed that in default of an undoubted heir, Mary was "meet if it stood with the king's pleasure". The talk became known and the result was an official enquiry in which Cheyne's name was mentioned among others, and in which Anthony Browne, also a gentleman, was twice among those rigorously questioned. The matter seems to have been taken no further, but one cannot imagine that the gentlemen were "so bold as to talk of the king's succession" again before the birth of the future Edward VI in October 1537 removed all grounds for speculation.<sup>(2)</sup>

A study of the various lists of the privy chamber leads to the conclusion that the occupation, especially that of gentleman, was hazardous. In 1536 Norris, Roch-

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(1) L.P. IV; 4584, ~~Wriothesley Chronicle I.p.94~~. (2) L.P. X; 1134, 1150. Historical Manuscripts Commission 2nd. Report pt.vii.p.287.

ford, Brereton, Weston, and one of the grooms, Smeton, were executed as accomplices of Anne Boleyn. In 1538 Exeter, Carew and Neville died for the Exeter conspiracy. In 1542 Culpeper suffered for Katherine Howard.

Anthony Browne, a royal sewer at the Cloth of Gold, and perhaps then in the chamber, was among the gentlemen of the privy chamber in 1526<sup>(1)</sup> and would seem to have held the office until Henry VIII died. John Wallop was referred to as a gentleman of the privy chamber in February 1528,<sup>(2)</sup> and again in 1537-8,<sup>(3)</sup> but there had been a break in his tenure, for in 1530 his "succesor" was named.<sup>(4)</sup> He does not appear in either the 1532 or 1540 lists. Absence at Calais or long residence abroad as an ambassador is the probable explanation, while his temporary disgrace in 1541 ended his career in household and court.

Anthony Denny was apparently yeoman of the wardrobe of robes by 1535.<sup>(5)</sup> The next year he had secured entry to the privy chamber as a groom<sup>(6)</sup> and by January 1537 he was one of the gentlemen.<sup>(7)</sup> By December 1546 Sir Anthony Denny and Sir William Herbert were jointly chief gentlemen of the privy chamber.<sup>(8)</sup> These two, and Denny in particular, were the king's closest personal attendants and perhaps his closest friends. The king held the most confidential discussions with Denny about his unwanted queen, Anne of Cleves.<sup>(9)</sup> It was Denny who found Katherine Howard's door bolted from the inside on the night in 1541 when, at Pontefract, he was sent to fetch her to her husband.<sup>(10)</sup> It was to Denny that was delivered in 1546 "a close stool for the King's Majesty" of a

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(1) L.P. IV; 1939. (2) L.P. IV; 3986, 4124(17). (3) L.P. XII; ii, 9II, XIII. i. 1, 1115(63), XIV. i. 2. (4) L.P. V; p. 319.  
 (5) L.P. IX; 218. (6) L.P. XI; 519(12). (7) L.P. XIV. i. 144.  
 (8) L.P. XXI; 11. 648(60). (9) L.P. XV; 850. (10) L.P. XVI; 1338.



sumptuousness that befitted a monarch and a comfort that spoke of the pains in a diseased body,- black velvet covering, silk fringe and ribbon, gold and gilded nails, down stuffed seat, elbows and side pieces.<sup>(1)</sup> It was Denny and Herbert who nursed the king in his last illness in Westminster palace, and when on 27 January 1547 his physicians knew his death to be imminent but were too terrified to tell him so, since to foretell the king's death was high treason, only Denny was bold enough to tell him of the case he was in and bid him prepare himself.<sup>(2)</sup> At the funeral Denny and Herbert were alone carried on the hearse, seated at the head and foot of the coffin which lay under a golden pall surmounted by a wax effigy of the king..There they remained until the entombment at Windsor.<sup>(3)</sup>

Denny was described as "of the robes" as late as 1539, at least two years after he had entered the privy chamber.<sup>(4)</sup> As yeoman of the robes he was responsible for the custody of articles of great value and for control of their issue. Among them were jewels, rich cloths of gold and silver, crimson and purple satin, black velvet, vestments from monastery churches and, especially carefully regulated in its issue, silk.<sup>(5)</sup> It was presumably as yeoman of the robes that Denny was responsible for

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- (1) L.P.XXI.ii.642. In P.R.O.Lists and Indexes; Declared Accounts Pipe and Audit Offices p.81 Denny is mentioned as Groom of the Stole. When Henry Norris succeeded William Compton as Groom of the King's Stool he was also to give attendance in the bed chamber and other privy places and none of the other gentlemen was to enter the bed chamber unless summoned by the king. A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Royal Household (Society of Antiquaries) p.156.
- (2) J.Foxe Acts and Monuments V.p.689. G.Burnet Reformation I.p.550. (3) A.Collins Peerage of England III.p.116. J.Strype Memorials II.ii.p.298. (4) L.P.XIV.ii.781. (5) L.P.IX;218, X;1132, XII.ii.973(v), XIII.ii.457,1201, XV;686.

seeing that the royal clocks were kept in repair.<sup>(1)</sup>

From 1535 onwards large sums of money passed through Denny's hands at the wardrobe, sums usually described as being to the king's use. He continued to handle this money until early in the reign of Edward VI. In the regnal year 1537-8 some £11,000 or £12,000 was so paid, some of it to Denny jointly with Hennage, a gentleman of the privy chamber.<sup>(2)</sup> In 1538-9 the figure was £38,950, most of it paid jointly; in 1539-40 £6,072; in 1540-41 it was £19,105; in 1541-42 £6,215.<sup>(3)</sup> These figures may well be incomplete, but for the rest of the reign we have Denny's own statement. It is given to the last farthing, but is in round figures as follows:-

1542-43	£ 52,000
1543-44	£ 122,000
1544-45	£ 48,000
1545-46	£ 4,500
1546-47	£ 15,000
1547-48	£ 1,800

The money came from various sources, such as the augmentations, the chamber, the jewel house, the coffeer, the first fruits and tenths, and Cromwell.<sup>(4)</sup> The large variations in the amounts are striking and rather puzzling, although the largest figure, that of 1543-44, is in part accounted for by one payment out which Denny made, £30,000 for the Scottish war.<sup>(5)</sup>

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(1) L.P. Addenda ;1869. (2) L.P.XIII.i.309,ii.457.

(3) L.P.XIV.ii.236,782, XV;809,600, XVI;380,745, XVII;258

(4) L.P.XVII;267. W.C.Richardson Tudor Chamber Administration p.93 asserts that Denny took over the direction of the personal finances of the sovereign when Sir William Compton died in 1528. There is no trace of Denny in the royal service before 1534, and the payments referred to above begin in 1535. In his later Court of Augmentations Richardson repeats the date 15-28, but also observes (pp.353-8) that in 1535 the king began to amass a large surplus of ready money, the principal repository of which was the secret jewel house in Westminster palace, of which Denny was keeper..

(5) L.P.XIX.i.388(3).

Other payments ranged over a wide field; £5,000 sent to Denmark in 1535;<sup>(1)</sup> £7,000 for works at Guisnes, the fortress near Calais;<sup>(2)</sup> £8,500 for John Gresham to exchange in Antwerp in 1544 to raise mercenaries;<sup>(3)</sup> much smaller sums for the king's privy alms, upkeep of orchards and gardens at Greenwich, paling the park at Guildford;<sup>(4)</sup> money laid out for tourneys;<sup>(5)</sup> payments to the princess Mary;<sup>(6)</sup> £34 to Denny's schoolfellow John Leland, to be used in bringing trees, grasses and seeds from France.<sup>(7)</sup>

Denny on occasions handled the king's correspondence and Henry passed to him letters for privy councillors to see, though Denny was not at the time a member of the privy council.<sup>(8)</sup> Denny forwarded to Cromwell bills which had been left for the king's signature.<sup>(9)</sup> More important, from 1545 Denny, with his brother in law John Gates, who was a groom of the chamber, and William Clerk, the king's private secretary, was authorised "to sign on the king's behalf and name ... warrants, bills, gifts, grants, leases, pardons, letters missive, commissions and all other writings and minutes ... two of them with a stamp called a 'drie stamp' shall at the king's command make an impression without blackening and afterwards (one of them) shall blacken the same, provided that all such warrants and other writings are entered in a book or in certain schedules to be signed by the king's own hand monthly."<sup>(10)</sup> This arrangement continued until Henry's death. The advantage to Denny of such a situation, discreetly used, is obvious. The records show almost fifty grants, etc., issued under the stamp, "preferred by" or "at the suit of" Sir Anthony Denny between October

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(1) L.P. IX; 229, 232, X; 376. (2) L.P. XVII; 526, 945. (3) L.P. XIX.i.1035(27). (4) L.P. XXI.ii.499, 502, 700. (5) L.P. XXI.ii.723. (6) F. Madden Privy Purse Expenses; Princess Mary pp. 91, 109. (7) A.P.C. II.p. 74. (8) L.P. XIV.ii.200. (9) L.P. XIV.ii.201. (10) L.P. XXI.i.1537(33-4).

1545 and December 1546.<sup>(1)</sup> In the same period Sir Anthony Browne, gentleman of the privy chamber and master of the king's horses, subscribed twenty such grants, a number of which dealt with his own department of the stable.

The position which Denny occupied, with constant access to the king's ear, is hinted at in contemporary writings. In 1544 Paget recommended Hertford, who was in the north, to salute with a word or two in a letter a number of important courtiers, not forgetting Mr. Denny.<sup>(2)</sup> An unknown writer advised a certain Mr. Cheyney (probably not Sir Thomas),—"At your request I moved Mr. Denny for the marriage of your son with his niece ... my advice to you is that you consider that the man is near about the king and one unmeet to be trifled or mocked with."<sup>(3)</sup> Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, wrote an epitaph for Denny a man who in the event survived him. The first part is revealing.

Death, and the King, did, as it were, contend,  
Which of them two bare Denny greatest love;  
The King, to shew his love can farre extend,  
Did him advance his betters farre above.

Nere place, much wealth, great honour eke him gave,  
To make it known what power great princes have,  
But when death came with his triumphant gift,  
From worldly carke he quit his wearied ghost  
Free from the corpes, and straight to heaven is lift.  
Now deme that can who did for Denny most.

The King gave welth, but fading and unsure;  
Death brought him blisse, that ever can endure.<sup>(4)</sup>

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(1) L.P.XX.ii.706,909,1067, XXI.i.148,301,650,963,1165, 1382,1536, XXI.ii.199,332,475,647. (2) L.P.XIX.i.293.  
(3) L.P.Addenda 1794. (4) Biographia Britannica.

Beyond the privy chamber lay the presence chamber. This, at night time, was the territory of the esquires of, or for, the king's body. Samuel Pegge in his Curialia asserts reasonably that they were an appendage to the king as being a knight.<sup>(1)</sup> In the sixteenth century they normally numbered four, of whom two, and later one, did duty at a time. Apart from state ceremony, their only daytime duty seems to have been to serve the king's pottage at dinner and supper. But, writes Pegge, the principal, most essential and most honourable part of an esquire's duty was at night, when he had absolute command of the house above and below stairs after the king had gone to bed. He was, in fact, the establishment's duty officer. The esquires, or esquire slept on pallets in the presence chamber under the cloth of estate. With him was a page, who was to rise at 7 a.m., make up the fire and rouse the esquire, who was to be ready dressed by 8 p.m. In spite of their nocturnal authority and greater antiquity, the office of an esquire was reckoned of less financial worth than that of a gentleman of the privy chamber. Perhaps the extra hour in bed helped to compensate.<sup>(2)</sup>

In 1511 and again in 1513 William Fitzwilliam was listed among those from whom an esquire of the body should be chosen when the office should fall vacant, and later in the year 1513 he was referred to as an esquire of the body, in a grant.<sup>(3)</sup> Thomas Cheyne is described as an esquire of the body in the list of those present at Henry VII's funeral, but he was not one of the four in "waiting" or in "Ordinary".<sup>(4)</sup> The household had numerous super-

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(1) S. Pegge Curialia (2) L.P. IV; 1939. (3) L.P. I; 682(10), 1732(47), 1836. (4) L.P. I; 20(p.14).

numerary or "extraordinary" officers, who only did duty on state occasions such as funerals and coronations, or when the monarch was in their own locality. A roll of the household placed in the Letters and Papers in 1516, which is probably at least ten years too early, lists over sixty esquires of the body extraordinary.<sup>(1)</sup>

Cheyne, Browne and Fitzwilliam were all, at various times between 1515 and 1533, referred to as "knights of the body".<sup>(2)</sup> The nature of this office is not easy to apprehend. Pegge considered that if the esquires were themselves knights, they were known as knights of the body, but this is disproved by the Eltham Ordinances, in which several of the four esquires in ordinary are knights, and which, in the lodgings provided at court, place four esquires in one chamber and four knights of the body in another. The knights appear nowhere else in the establishment, and it seems that they were an extraordinary rank without permanent function at court. The household roll placed by Letters and Papers in 1516, lists no less than 113 knights for the body, among them Sir John Wallop.

At Henry VII's funeral Fitzwilliam was a gentleman usher and in his case the post was certainly extraordinary,<sup>(3)</sup> but at the subsequent coronation he was second cupbearer and this was an office in ordinary.<sup>(4)</sup>

The household proper was the portion below stairs, which fed the court and provided its other material needs. It was presided over by the lord steward, who between 1540 and 1533 was known as the great master. He was assisted by the treasurer of the household and the comptroller

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(1) L.P.II;2735. (2) L.P.II;1091, IV;297(14),2132,3391(8),  
V;128,364(8), VI;929(37). (3) L.P.I;20(p.14).  
 (4) L.P.I;82(p.38).

~~chief~~ of the household. Its mainspring was the board of greencloth in the counting house, which controlled finance, discipline and efficiency below stairs. The Eltham Ordinances required the three senior officials, or two of them, to attend the board at convenient times to transact business, and the 1540 Ordinances demanded the attendance of at least one of them daily between 8 and 9 a.m., "other great causes of Council not letting" The proviso reveals the difficulty, for all three were commonly privy councillors and their attendance can have been no more than occasional. In practice the cofferer normally presided as the senior officer present.

By Tudor days the treasurer of the household no longer had a direct financial responsibility for anything, in spite of his title. From 1525 until 1537 Fitzwilliam held the post. During the last years of Wolsey's power Fitzwilliam stood close to the great minister, often acting as his channel of communication with the king and source of information in the court, advising him on the state of the royal humour and health and on the intended doings and movements of the court.<sup>(1)</sup> A letter from the court at Greenwich on Good Friday 1526 illustrates this and also the extent of Wolsey's patronage. Henry had requested that the serjeant of the ewery be replaced. The minister had as yet done nothing and the king would expect to see a new serjeant at Easter. Neither the treasurer (Fitzwilliam) nor the comptroller seem to have been able to act on their own authority and the steward, the earl of Shrewsbury was aged and rarely at court. Fitzwilliam advised urgent action, but should this be not

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(1) L.P. IV; 2343-4 (misplaced under 1526; should be 1525) Fitzwilliam was already in the office by January 1526; vide L.P. IV; 1901. L.P. IV; 2326, 2343-4, 2349, 2368, 2407, 5817, 3073, 3318, 3354, 4299, 4367, 4675, 4766.

be possible he promised that he would excuse Wolsey as best he could if the king made comment.<sup>(1)</sup> Fitzwilliam held the treasurership until his elevation to the peerage, when he was presumably considered too exalted to hold the office, honourable though it was. He was succeeded by William Paulet, who in 1539 gave way to Thomas Cheyne, who served in it under four sovereigns before his death in 1558.<sup>(2)</sup>

The meagre extant references to the treasurer of the household acting as a household officer indicate that the post was a dignity and not an occupation, but there were a few shreds of duty left. In 1532 Fitzwilliam sacked Thomas Hattecliff from the household because of the king's displeasure.<sup>(3)</sup> In the Household Ordinances there are references to Cheyne acting as mouthpiece for royal commands about the household, to the three principal officers making decisions and even to orders issued by the treasurer himself.<sup>(4)</sup> In 1541 household officers and courtiers, among them the treasurer, were commissioned to audit the accounts of the cofferers of the royal children's households.<sup>(5)</sup> It may have been as treasurer that Cheyne appointed an overseer of the king's garden at Austin Friars in 1540.<sup>(6)</sup> In the same year a commission which included Cheyne, Fitzwilliam and Browne, was appointed to receive recognizances from persons within the household,<sup>(7)</sup> and in 1558, when the stewardship was vacant, Cheyne was among those ordered to hold the Marshalsea court for household cases.<sup>(8)</sup>

The outermost room above stairs was the guardroom, where the yeomen of the king's guard maintained watch.

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(1) L.P.IV;2060. (2) Wriothesley Chronicle I.p.94, J.G. Nichols Literary Remains of Edward VI I.p.xciv., C.P.R.Phil.&Mary I.p.410, Holinshed Chronicle IVp.157.  
 (3) L.P.V;921. (4) Household Ordinances pp.208 et seq.  
 (5) L.P.XVI;1488(4,25) (6) L.P.XV;894. (7) L.P.XV;1027(7).  
 (8) C.P.R.Phil.& Mary V.p.74.



They were not the only military body attached to the household. At the outset of his reign Henry VIII had founded the king's spears or spears of honour, modelled on the French "Garde du Corps" and numbering fifty. Each spear was to maintain three great horses, a demi-lance and a custrell, with two archers at call when needed. The corps was expensive, costing the king £343 a year in wages, but, as has been pointed out, the individual members can scarcely have covered their expenses out of the wages paid them.<sup>(1)</sup> The force was designed to provide the king with a retinue of gentlemen soldiers in peacetime, to add more lustre than the plebeian yeomen could provide, and in war-time to supply junior commanders by land and sea. Fitzwilliam, Cheyne and Wallop were all spears in these early days.<sup>(2)</sup> In the middle years of the reign the force seems to have become dormant, but it was revived in 1539-40 as the gentlemen pensioners, with Anthony Browne as the first captain. The body still exists as the honourable corps of gentlemen at arms. The strength remained at fifty. At Browne's suggestion they were allowed to do duty twenty five at a time, changing over quarterly, but at the seasons of Christmas, Easter,<sup>(3)</sup> Whitsun and Allhallows the whole body had to be present.

According to Holinshed, Thomas Cheyne was one of the henchmen or henxmen at the court of Henry VII.<sup>(4)</sup> In the "Liber Niger Domus Regis Edward IV" which is to be found in the Household Ordinances, the henchmen were children (youths), some of them royal wards, who were being educated in the court. The duty of the master of the henchmen

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(1) J.D. Mackie The Early Tudors p.269. (2) L.P.II.pp.1459, 1460, 1464-5 (3) L.P.XX.ii.Appx.2. Household Ordinances pp.168, 212, 279. Pegge Curialia refers to spears as being mentioned in the Eltham Ordinances, but an examination of the names reveals the list as that of the body re-formed in 1539-40. (4) Holinshed Chronicle IV p.157.

was "to shoue the schooles of urbanitie and nourture of England". The boys were to be taught riding, the use of arms, courtesy in words and deeds, languages, harping, piping, singing, dancing, and religion. They ate in the hall with their master and were each entitled to have one servant.<sup>(1)</sup> In the early years of Henry VIII there were nine henchmen, receiving clothing annually - demi-gowns of russet or tawny medley, embroidered or black velvet jackets.<sup>(2)</sup> In the Eltham Ordinances, where Sir Francis Brian is named their master, they were listed on the king's side of the household, and in the 1540 ordinances the master is entitled to dine with the treasurer of the household (Cheyne). It seems possible that the children of honour who appear at court later in the reign, for example at the reception of Anne of Cleves in England, are the henchmen under another name.<sup>(3)</sup>

An important appendage of the household was the stable where the master of the horse ruled. In 1539 Anthony Browne was given this post in succession to the attainted Sir Nicholas Carew.<sup>(4)</sup> The master of the horse was responsible for the feeding and maintenance of the king's horses, the satisfactory state of their equipment, the breeding of replacements and the discipline and welfare of the staff. The king's horses numbered 109, of all kinds, under Browne's regime. The master and other stable staff had 10 and other household officers 66. It would have required many more horses than the stable controlled to have moved the household, but many officers were entitled to food and accomodation for horses for the carriage of themselves and their servants. The master

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(1) Household Ordinances p.44. (2) L.P.I;232,239,487,768, 897. (3) L.P.XV;10, XVI;394. (4) L.P.XIV.i.651(32)

appointed his under officers, of whom the most important were the avenor, responsible for the avery or supply department, and the equerries. They, in practice, ran the stable and had to maintain accounts to be countersigned by the master and presented monthly to the board of green-cloth. Hay., litter, oats and farriery cost the king £ 1071 a year, and wages were £ 1132.<sup>(1)</sup> During Browne's tenure of office there are records of pensions paid to the stable staff on his recommendation.<sup>(2)</sup> His signature also appears on a bill of 1546-7 for provision of a "new stoole of wallnottrey for the king to light upon horsebacke".<sup>(3)</sup> It was apparently a folding article, and almost as eloquent of the once Athletic Henry's condition as was Denny's close stool. On ceremonial occasions the master of the horse led the king's horse of estate, as he did at the meeting of Henry with Anne of Cleves in Greenwich Park in 1540 and at the entry into Lincoln during the progress of 1541.<sup>(4)</sup> During the Boulogne expedition of 1544, Browne not only acted as master of the horse but had a command in the army as well. In the funeral cortège which conveyed the body of Henry VIII from London to Windsor in 1547, Browne rode a horse "trapped to the ground", leading the king's horse, trapped likewise in cloth of gold.<sup>(5)</sup>

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(1) Household Ordinances pp.200,206. (2) L.P.XVI;287, XVIII.ii. 231(p.125), (3) L.P.XXI.ii. 769(iv,10). (4) Hall Chronicle p.834, L.P.XVI;1088. (5) Strype Memorials II.ii. p.302. In the D.N.B. (Supplementary vol.) article on Cheyne he is described as joint master of the horse. The office was not held jointly and was never Cheyne's. The error arises from the custom of stating in patents that an office is to be held "in the same manner as" - usually three previous tenants. The patents for Henry Guldeford in 1515 (L.P.II; 1114) and Nicholas Carew in 1522 (L.P.III;2395) refer to Sir Thomas Knyvet, Sir Thomas Brandon and Sir Thomas Cheyne as previous holders. Knyvet's patent of 1510 mentions Sir John Cheyne, Thomas' uncle, who had been master under Edward IV. It is clear that the clerk in 1515 saw one Thomas too many, and the mistake was repeated in 1522.

Life in household and court involved not only daily ceremony but also occasions of greater pomp and circumstance, to some of which incidental reference has been made. At the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520 Fitzwilliam, Cheyne and Browne were attendant on the king, in common with a large section of the notables of England.<sup>(1)</sup> At the time Wallop was probably serving in Ireland, while Audley and Denny were as yet nobodies. As chancellor Audley attended the coronation of Anne Boleyn in 1533<sup>(2)</sup> and presumably that of Jane Seymour in 1536.<sup>(3)</sup> We may assume that all the household and leading courtiers not abroad or on urgent business elsewhere would be present on such occasions. In May 1537 Audley attended *te deum* at St. Paul's for joy at the queen's quickening with child<sup>(4)</sup> and he was present in the following October, at Hampton Court, when the infant prince was christened. Present too were Fitzwilliam, treasurer of the household, and Cheyne, Browne, Denny and Wallop, gentlemen of the privy chamber, Browne being one of four who, in aprons and towels, had charge of the font until relieved by a more exalted official, and Wallop one of six who bore a canopy over the royal child.<sup>(5)</sup> The next month Audley, Cheyne and Denny, with Fitzwilliam, Browne and Wallop and their ladies, followed the young queen's funeral chariot to St. George's chapel in Windsor castle.<sup>(6)</sup> In June 1539 Audley, in kirtle, robe and hood of black, was the king's representative at a memorial service at St. Paul's for Charles' empress. Fitzwilliam was another of the mourners. The next day Audley again represented Henry Henry at a solemn requiem mass.<sup>(7)</sup> Relations with Charles

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(1) L.P. III; 703-4, pp. 239-40, 243-5, 313. (2) L.P. VI; 584.

(3) L.P. XI; 501. (4) Wriothesley Chronicle I.p. 62. (5) L.P. XII.ii.911. (6) L.P. XII.ii.1060. (7) Wriothesley Chronicle I.p. 96. L.P. XIV.i.1088.

were at the time very strained, but the diplomatic decencies had to be observed.

Five of our six courtiers, Wallop being abroad, had parts to play in the near comedy of the Cleves marriage and in the tragedy of Katherine Howard. Browne and Denny were present in the queen's privy closet at Hampton Court when Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, made Henry a married man for the last time, to Katherine Parr in 1543.<sup>(1)</sup> It seems that royal marriages, or at least remarriages, were more private affairs than coronations and funerals, although Anne of Cleves, a foreign princess, was received before the marriage with a good deal of show.

Browne was one of five commissioned to arrange Henry VIII's funeral in 1547, in which the parts played by Denny and himself have already been mentioned.<sup>(2)</sup> Cheyne, treasurer of the household, and Sir John Gage, comptroller, broke their white wands of office and cast them into the tomb, signifying that their offices had died with the king.<sup>(3)</sup> Next day, at the Tower, they received new ones from the young king, signifying that they were re-appointed.<sup>(4)</sup> The coronation, arranged by Cheyne, Browne and nine others, took place a week later.<sup>(5)</sup> The master of the horse rode in the customary procession from the Tower to Westminster abbey leading a horse of honour, richly trapped.<sup>(6)</sup> The treasurer walked in procession from Westminster Hall to the abbey with one of the Scotch ambassadors.<sup>(7)</sup> Denny, with Herbert, held the pall over the king during the anointing.<sup>(8)</sup>

At Mary's coronation in 1553, Cheyne, now the only

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(1) L.P.XVIII.i.873. (2) A.P.C.II.pp.3 et seq. (3) Strype Memorials II.ii.p.310. (4) J.G.Nichols Literary Remains of Edward VI I.p.xciv. (5) A.P.C.II.pp.8-9. (6) Nichols Literary Remains I.p.cclxxx. (7) Nichols Literary Remains I.p.ccxciii. (8) A.P.C.II.p.31, Nichols Literary Remains I.p.ccxcv.

survivor, was among the Garter knights who held the pall for the anointing.<sup>(1)</sup> The next year he travelled with the court to Winchester to attend the queen's marriage to Philip of Spain.<sup>(2)</sup> He was one of the officers appointed to serve Philip<sup>(3)</sup> presumably during the marriage ceremonies, for he was seldom at court between July 1554 and May 1555.

The Eltham Ordinances of 1526 and the reforms of 1540 placed the household on a more ordered basis, enabling the board of greencloth to control more closely the expenditure of money and materials. From 1526 the performance of duty by deputies was largely eliminated. The officers of household and chamber were forbidden to leave court without permission from the king, the chamberlain or vice-chamberlain, the steward, treasurer or comptroller. The employment of household officers, especially those below stairs, outside the court largely ceased.<sup>(4)</sup> From this must have been excepted the highest grades, and also the gentlemen of the privy chamber, who were often sent on confidential business for the king at home or overseas. Among home duties was the reception or leave taking of foreign ambassadors and notables.<sup>(5)</sup> In 1538 Wallop was given the duty of entertaining Madame de Montreuil and her companions who were returning to France after accompanying James V's first queen to Scotland. He showed them Westminster and Hampton Court and they were feasted by the lord mayor.<sup>(6)</sup> Duty abroad also figured in the careers of household officers, as special couriers, in the suites of ambassadors, or as themselves ambassadors, special or resident.<sup>(7)</sup>

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(1) Strype Memorials III.i.p.56. (2) ~~C.S.P.Spanish~~ XII.pp.297-8. (3) A.P.C.V.pp.43 et seq. (4) A.P.Newton Tudor Reforms in the Royal Household in Tudor Studies ed. R.W.Seton-Watson.

(5) L.P.IV;2397, XIV.ii.223, XV;170, XXI.i.1201,1316,1384, C.S.P.Spanish V.p.525, A.P.C. III.pp.4,25, Nichols Literary Remains II.pp.269-70, P.F.Tytler England under Edward VI and Mary I.p.284. (6) L.P.XII.ii.201,232.

(7) See Chapter IX

The household and court was a mobile institution, as it had been since medieval days. In the winter months it was habitually in the vicinity of London if not at Westminster itself, but in the warmer weather it usually made a series of progresses. The movement of the court in two periods of the later years of Henry VIII may be conveniently studied in the privy council register.<sup>(1)</sup> The register begins in August 1540 and continues until July 1543. The next two years have been lost, but its records begin again in May 1545 and thence continue in unbroken sequence. In the first period a quarter of the total time was spent at Westminster (10 visits), with less time at Greenwich (6 visits), Windsor (2 visits), and St. James (2 visits). Shorter stays were also made at other royal residences. In August and September 1540 a progress was made from Windsor via Reading and Buckingham, a three week stay at Amptill, and back by way of Moor Park, where a fortnight was spent. In March 1541 the king made a journey from Greenwich to Dover and back, using the normal Rochester and Canterbury route. From July to October 1541 there took place the most extended progress of the reign, the northern visit with one or two week stays at Pontefract and York. The year 1542 saw a series of brief journeys, between May and August, to Moor Park, Guildford and Chobham, sandwiched between periods of residence at Hampton Court and Windsor. In the summer of 1545 there was a visit to Portsmouth, principally to review preparations by land and sea against possible French invasion. On this journey Browne had the expensive honour of a stay by the court at his Sussex home, Cowdray Park. Cheyne had had such a visit in 1532

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(1) N.H. Nicholas Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England VII. J.R. Dasent Acts of the Privy Council of England New Series I-VII.

when Henry and Anne Boleyn stayed a few days at Shurland in the Isle of Sheppey, en route to Calais.<sup>(1)</sup> Another stay was made at a house of Fitzwilliam's either at Guildford or at Byfleet, in 1533.<sup>(2)</sup>

Cheyne was with the court during the only progress of Edward VI's reign, in 1552. It went via Guildford, Petworth, Cowdray, (Browne was now dead and his son, the future viscount Montague, in possession), Hainaker, Portsmouth, Southampton and Christchurch to Salisbury. Cheyne left it at Wilton. We have already noted that he was with the court when Mary went to Winchester to marry Philip in 1554, but his other attendances on this queen were all in the vicinity of London.

If we assume that presence at court meant presence in council for a privy councillor, the records referred to above give some indication of the frequency of attendance on the king. From August 1540 to October 1542, when Fitzwilliam died, out of 553 occasions when attendance was recorded, Browne was present on 409, Fitzwilliam on 378, Cheyne on 289 and Audley on 182. Browne was throughout a gentleman of the privy chamber and master of the horse, while Cheyne was treasurer of the household and Fitzwilliam, while not a household officer, was an old confidant of the king's and lord privy seal. Audley had never held household office and his normal station seems to have been at Westminster, where he or Cranmer presided over the council in London while the court, and with it the privy council proper, was away. For the whole period August 1540 to July 1543, the total recorded attendances are 784. Browne was present on 594 occasions,

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(1)L.P.V;1354,1377,p.640. (2)L.P.VI;948.



Cheyne on 405 and Audley on 310. In the second period, May 1545 until Henry's death in late January 1547, the total was 400, the only survivors being Browne, who attended on 315 and Cheyne, who attended on 115 occasions. Wallop was never a member of the privy council and his presence at court is only occasionally traceable. Denny only entered the privy council in the February of 1547 and he died in 1549, a period during which the council register gives either fictitious information on attendance, or none at all.

Expressed as a percentage of maximum possible attendances, the above figures show some interesting consistencies.

	1540-2	1540-3	1545-7	Northum- berland, 1549-53	Mary. 1553-8
	%	%	%	%	%
Fitzwilliam	68	-	-	-	-
Browne	75	74	78	-	-
Cheyne	52	52	29	30	18
Audley	44	49	-	-	-

The decline in Cheyne's attendances may perhaps be ascribed to his preoccupation with coast defence in the 1545-6 period, to lack of sympathy with Northumberland's regime, (although this came too late to be a really satisfactory explanation), and to bodily infirmity in the reign of Mary.

### Chapter III Titles and Honours

Two of our six men became members of that new nobility which the Tudors gradually recruited from their servants of proved ability and worth. Fitzwilliam's peerage is unusual in that he was promoted direct from commoner to the third grade of nobility, that of earl, and no barony

appears to have been attached to his title. His earldom of Southampton (Hampshire) was one of the marks of Henry's rejoicing at the birth of his son in 1537. Fitzwilliam was created a peer and the queen's brother, Edward Seymour, was advanced from viscount Beauchamp to earl of Hertford on the day that the week old prince was created prince of Wales.<sup>(1)</sup>

Audley's office of lord chancellor did not in the sixteenth century automatically bring its holder a peerage. Audley did not get his barony of Walden until November 1538, perhaps to enable him to preside at the trial of Lords Exeter and Montague.<sup>(2)</sup>

According to Paget's deposition on Henry VIII's testamentary intentions, that king intended a barony for Thomas Cheyne, but it was never granted.<sup>(3)</sup>

The knighthoods conferred on our men were, except in one case, earned by real or nominal military service. Fitzwilliam was knighted at Tournai on the conclusion of the 1513 campaign,<sup>(4)</sup> Cheyne in 1514 or 1515,<sup>(5)</sup> Wallop during the 1512-14 war<sup>(6)</sup>, Browne by the earl of Surrey after the raid on Morlaix,<sup>(7)</sup> and Denny after the taking of Boulogne in 1544.<sup>(8)</sup> Only Audley received the honour as a civilian, his knighthood being granted to him when

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(1)L.P.XII.ii.939 (2)L.P.XIII.ii.967(52). (3)A.P.C. II p.15 et seq. (4)L.P.I;2301. (5)L.P.II;1091.  
 (6)D.N.B. John Wallop. (7)Hall Chronicle p.642.  
 (8)L.P.XIX.ii.334.

he was appointed keeper of the great seal.<sup>(1)</sup>

The most honourable order of the Garter, which Henry VIII had reinvigorated and reformed, was then, as now, a body more select than the peerage, being restricted to twenty members besides the sovereign and foreign princes. Elections to fill places normally took place at the annual chapter on St. George's day, for he was the order's patron. It took place wherever the court chanced to be. The procedure was for each knight, beginning with the most junior, to name three persons in each grade, of "prince" (earls and above), "baron" (viscounts and barons and "knights" (commoners). The king took the lists and next day announced the names of those he had chosen, which were given "joyful" assent. Certain members were then deputed to keep the feast at Windsor, usually in May or June, when new knights were installed in the chapel of St. George.

Fitzwilliam was elected and installed in 1526 and so his arms are among those carved and painted on the ceiling of the chapel, which dates from 1528.<sup>(2)</sup> Browne and Cheyne were candidates in April 1537 and again, with Wallop, in an additional chapter in August of the same year. Audley and Browne were candidates in 1539, when Cheyne was among those chosen. Wallop was a candidate in 1540 when Audley and Browne were elected. In April 1543 Wallop was again a candidate, and he was elected in December of the same year, being installed in May 1544.

In 1539 Cheyne and other elected knights were provided with livery from the royal wardrobe for their installation, as was Wallop in 1544, when he had a warrant for

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(1) L.P.V;1075. (2) The Sir William Fitzwilliam, K.G., who is buried in St. George's chapel, is another man, probably a kinsman, who was of Edward VI's privy chamber. E.H.Fellows Knights of the Garter p.12, J.G.Nichols Literary Remains of Edward VI. l.p.cccviii.

eighteen yards of crimson velvet for gown, hood, tippet,  
and ten yards of white sarcenet for lining.<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) L.P.XIV.ii.238, XVIII.ii.517, XIX.i.385.

See also L.P.XV;561,707 and XIII.i.1078.

J.Anstis Register of the Order of the Garter II  
G.F.Belz. Memorials of the Order of the Garter  
Strype Memorials III.ii.p.3 H.Machyn Diary p.134

## Chapter IV Political Activity

With the exception of John Wallop our courtiers were all at some period in their lives involved in high politics. Fitzwilliam, Audley, Browne and Cheyne were among those whose names appeared in the privy council register when that body emerged fully organised in August 1540. Denny, a personal servant as long as Henry VIII lived, was named by that king among the councillors intended for his son and as such he served until his death in 1549.<sup>(1)</sup>

After Fitzwilliam's appointment to the treasurership of the royal household in 1525 we must reckon him among the inner ring of Henry's advisers, or at any rate among those who would have been so had Wolsey not monopolised the royal ear. Although the council was almost in disuse there were occasions when it was convenient that it should seem to exist, and presumably even the cardinal sometimes needed advice and support in dealing with affairs of state. The embassy headed by the bishop of Tarbes which in 1527 concluded an Anglo-French treaty for war on the emperor, noted Fitzwilliam among the dozen or so present when they were received by the king, and he was in Wolsey's house when negotiations took place. He was, with Norfolk, Suffolk and More, one of the English signatories.<sup>(2)</sup>

Fitzwilliam has been described as a time server who sought Wolsey's fall. A.F.Pollard named him as one of those who were anxious to launch an attack on the church and cardinal, while R.Somerville wrote that he was active

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(1)P.C.P.VII.p.26, L.P.XXI.;ii.634. (2)L.P.IV;1305,3080, Appx.158,166.

in assailing Wolsey.<sup>(1)</sup> Neither assertion is supported by evidence. Fitzwilliam signed the articles presented against the cardinal by the lords, but so also did lord chancellor More, twelve peers, among them the lord chamberlain, the comptroller of the household and two of the justices. It is clear that Fitzwilliam signed in his capacity of treasurer of the household. He was also one of those who signed article twelve separately. This indicted Wolsey "for writing to ambassadors abroad, in his own name, without the king's knowledge, and causing them to write again to him, so as to conceal their information," a mixture of fact which Fitzwilliam, who had been an ambassador abroad, could only admit, and inference which he could not deny.<sup>(2)</sup> He was present when Wolsey surrendered the great seal, but this again was in an official capacity.<sup>(3)</sup> It is true that contemporaries regarded him as swift to desert a fallen friend, but in Wolsey's case even this is unproved. As late as June 1530 he was "asking heartily" after the cardinal.<sup>(4)</sup>

In 1530 Fitzwilliam was, with Tunstall, commissioned to negotiate with the French. The next year the Venetian ambassadors and in 1532 Chapuys, the imperial ambassador regarded him as one of the inner council.<sup>(5)</sup> He was present when the clergy made their submission to the king<sup>(6)</sup> and he witnessed the delivery of the great seal to Audley as lord keeper and his promotion to lord chancellor in 1532 and 1533 respectively.<sup>(7)</sup> He accompanied Henry to Calais in 1532 and in 1533 witnessed his appeal to a general council in case of his excommunication.<sup>(8)</sup> More, in his adversity asked Fitzwilliam to intercede on his

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(1) A.F. Pollard Henry VIII (ed. 1905) p. 203. R. Somerville The Duchy of Lancaster I. p. 394. (2) L.P. IV; 6075.

(3) L.P. IV; 6025. (4) L.P. IV; 6447. (5) L.P. IV; 6215. (6) V; 694, 1202. (6) L.P. V; 1023. (7) L.P. V; 1075, VI; 73.

(8) Chronicle of Calais (ed. J.G. Nichols) p. 42. L.P. VI; 721.

behalf with the now all powerful Cromwell, knowing him to be the minister's "very friend".<sup>(1)</sup> In 1539, with Norfolk and Edward Foxe, the bishop of Hereford, he was sent to Calais to negotiate a marriage between the infant princess Elizabeth and the duke of Angoulême, third son of Francis I.<sup>(2)</sup> In 1538 he was one of the English commissioners negotiating with the imperialists in the matter of marriages for the king and princess Mary.<sup>(3)</sup>

Fitzwilliam's attitude to the central political problem of Henry VIII's reign, the king's divorce, is obscure. In 1531 Chapuys, Charles V's ambassador, noted that Suffolk and Fitzwilliam were "secretly" opposed to the divorce, hoping that the pope would decide against it.<sup>(4)</sup> After Anne Boleyn's fall he wrote of Fitzwilliam as "a man of good sense and a good servant of the princess (Mary)",<sup>(5)</sup> and, a little later, that Fitzwilliam and the marquess of Exeter had been excluded from the council, being suspected of approving Mary's refusal to admit her bastardy.<sup>(6)</sup> Chapuys was not always a reliable informant on such points, often lacking consistency. He had noted that the same Fitzwilliam and Suffolk had in 1530 been sent to bribe or bully the university of Oxford into an opinion in favour of the king's divorce.<sup>(7)</sup> In the same year of 1530 Fitzwilliam was one of the M.P.'s who petitioned the pope to grant the king his wish,<sup>(8)</sup> and in 1531 was one of the councillors sent to plead with the queen not to make her appeal to Rome.<sup>(9)</sup> With Cromwell and Kingston he went to Mary in 1534 to try to persuade her to renounce the title of princess, and in the same year was sent with Norfolk to "Prince Arthur's

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(1) L.P.VI;762. (2) L.P.VIII;341-2,502,516. (3) L.P.XIII.1.

671,756. (4) L.P.V;287. (5) L.P.X;1070. (6) L.P.XI;7.

(7) C.S.P.Spanish IV.i.p.475. (8) L.P.IV;6513. (9) L.P.V;478.

(10) L.P.VII;83.

dowager" on what was presumably not a friendly visit.<sup>(1)</sup> There is some indication that he was concerned in a search of Mary's servants at the same time.<sup>(2)</sup> Although Chapuy's believed that Norfolk and Fitzwilliam secretly hoped to be made prisoners by the northern rebels with whom they were sent to parley in 1536,<sup>(3)</sup> Fitzwilliam appeared to be exceptionally enthusiastic against them. The evidence is confusing, but Henrician politicians must have had to dissimulate. Few were Thomas Mores or even John Gages. The latter, vice-chamberlain, had parted from the king with tears standing in his eyes in 1533, and talked of entering a cloister. The trouble must have been over the divorce, and Fitzwilliam, whose brother, Anthony Browne, was Gage's son in law, asked Cromwell to do his best to reconcile the king and his brave servant.<sup>(4)</sup>

During the years of Cromwell's power Fitzwilliam often worked with him. Relations seem to have been cordial and expressed in the usual courtesies of exchange of gifts and hospitality. During the Pilgrimage of Grace Fitzwilliam was attended by the minister's nephew Richard Cromwell and showed him great attention. He was similarly courteous to the great man's son Gregory who accompanied him to Calais in 1539 to meet Anne of Cleves. He may have regarded Cromwell as instrumental in the grant of his peerage in 1537.<sup>(5)</sup> Nonetheless, there are indications that he was not thought so entirely the good friend that he seemed to be. In 1538 George Paulet in Ireland was putting about stories against Cromwell, one of which was that the king often beknaved and struck him and then Fitzwilliam and George's brother, Sir William Paulet, the

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(1) L.P.VII;324. (2) L.P.VII;382. (3) C.S.P.Spanish V.ii. p.390, L.P.XI;658,1143. Fitzwilliam was one of the men cited by Henry in his refutation of the rebels' complaint that there were fewer noblemen in his council then than at the start of his reign. (4) L.P.VI;96-66. (5) L.P.XII.ii.814.



treasurer of the household, had to reconcile them.<sup>(1)</sup> Next year he produced a variation, saying that Cromwell was out of favour and had been replaced by Fitzwilliam and William Paulet.<sup>(2)</sup> These stories were officially known in London and must have made things uncomfortable for Cromwell's supposed supplanters. In 1539 there were further rumours to the effect that Fitzwilliam, Kingston and Browne were working to overthrow Cromwell and replace him in the royal favour by Cuthbert Tunstall.<sup>(3)</sup>

When Cromwell's fall was at hand Fitzwilliam seems to have been his supporter until a late stage. On 10 June 1540 Marillac the French ambassador, wrote that Cromwell now had support in the council only from Cranmer, and from Fitzwilliam, who "had long learned to bend to all winds", by which he presumably meant that he would desert when he saw fit. The moment was closer than Marillac knew for on that very day Cromwell was arrested in the council, Norfolk snatching the George from his neck and Fitzwilliam, showing himself as great an enemy in adversity as he had been thought a friend in prosperity, removed the Garter from his knee.<sup>(4)</sup> (Marillac)<sup>(4)</sup> Some two years later Chapuys reported, admittedly at second or third hand, that Norfolk said of Fitzwilliam "Regardez ce petit vilain, il veult desja tout embraser et contrefaire Crumvel, mais que la fin payeroit le tout".<sup>(5)</sup>

When Cromwell toppled, his office of keeper of the privy seal was within a few weeks given to Fitzwilliam. From this time onwards Henry employed no prime minister and allowed no one party to dominate the privy council. Opinions varied as to the identities of those who had

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(1) L.P.XIII.i.4/1. (2) L.P.XIV.ii.944. (3) L.P.XIV.ii.750  
 (4) L.P.XV;767,804. (5) L.P.XVII;Appx.B.13

In the jungle warfare of Tudor politics there was one humanizing factor. Guilt by association and guilt by blood were notably absent, unless the government had cause to fear friends or relations. In December 1540 Gregory Cromwell was made a baron and among the witnesses to his patent was Fitzwilliam L.P.XVI.379(34)

most influence. In 1541 Marillac believed that Fitzwilliam and Russell were at the head of affairs.<sup>(1)</sup> Next year Chapuys thought Fitzwilliam and Wriothesley were the most influential, with Russell and Browne dependent on them.<sup>(2)</sup>

The early months of 1542 saw the lord privy seal engaged in a considerable amount of diplomatic activity. The breach between Valois and Hapsburg had re-opened and was widening, to the increased comfort and security of England's king. He was not yet prepared to commit himself to either side, but natural interests drew him towards Charles V. In November 1541 Fitzwilliam was sent to Chapuys and delivered to him a tirade against the French "at a length extraordinary in a man naturally so sober, silent and reserved. Indeed he himself swore he had not for three years spoken to a living soul so long and so openly".<sup>(3)</sup> Marillac found him less communicative and his own inclination was clearly pro-imperial.<sup>(4)</sup> He gave his help to Chapuys, who put Henry in high spirits by his flattery, which Fitzwilliam told him was never wasted on the king,<sup>(5)</sup> and greatly pleased Henry by language suggested to him by Fitzwilliam, who knew his nature better than any man in England, declared the ambassador, and showed great devotion to the emperor, but not openly at court, being too cautious for that.<sup>(6)</sup> He had been in conversation with Marillac about a proposed Anglo-French marriage alliance, but Chapuys soon noticed that the Frenchman was showing great dissatisfaction with him, preferring to negotiate with Norfolk rather than with "Faux Villain" as he punned Fitzwilliam.<sup>(7)</sup>

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(1) L.P.XVI;763. (2) C.S.P.Spanish VI.i.p.493. (3) L.P.XVI;1359. (4) L.P.XVI;1453. (5) L.P.XVI;1482. (6) L.P.XVII. Appx.B.13. (7) L.P.XVII;2,145,246-8,286,302, Appx.B.13, Appx.B.6.

Like William Fitzwilliam, Thomas Cheyne was an ambassador before he was a statesman. In his credentials when he went on his second mission to France in 1526, he was described as one of the king's "most secret familiars", but this probably referred to his office as a gentleman of the privy chamber.<sup>(1)</sup> In 1528 he was in disfavour with Wolsey.<sup>(2)</sup> A year or two earlier this would have been fatal to his prospects, but Cheyne had a slight family connection with the Boleyns. Anne interceded for him and the trouble passed. A letter placed early in 1529 in the Letters and Papers, from Du Bellay, the French ambassador, notes that Cheyne had offended Wolsey who put him out of court, but Anne had put him in again and used very rough words of Wolsey.<sup>(3)</sup> The letter is undated and may in fact have referred to the incident of 1528. In 1539 Cheyne became treasurer of the household, an office which usually carried with it a seat on the privy council. He retained this post until his death in 1558. His outlook was strongly Francophil, and this led to his replacement by Wallop as commander of the force which served with Charles V's forces in Hainault in 1543.<sup>(4)</sup> He was present in the council chamber when the treaty of Greenwich, ending the war with Scotland, was made in June 1543.<sup>(5)</sup>

Anthony Browne's name was among those of the witnesses to Henry's ratification of the treaty of Hampton Court, made with Charles V in 1543. His appointment as master of the horse in 1539 had brought him to the privy council. In the December of 1543 Cheyne and Browne were on a commission which made a pact with the Hapsburgs for invasion of

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(1) L.P. IV; 2039. (2) L.P. IV; 4081 (3) L.P. IV; 5210.

(4) L.P. XVIII.1.820, 822. (5) A.P.C. I. p. 149, L.P. XVIII.1.795.

(6) L.P. XVIII.1.603.

France in the next campaigning season.<sup>(1)</sup> Browne was strongly anti-French and in domestic policy conservative and catholic. According to John Foxe, in 1539 the keeper of princess Elizabeth's bears, a strenuous catholic, went to the council chamber to deliver what he considered damning evidence of heresy against Cranmer to Browne or Gardiner.<sup>(2)</sup> This was one of several occasions when the conservatives struck vainly at the archbishop. By late 1546, with the Howards ruined and Gardiner in disgrace, the position of the catholic faction in the council seemed desperate. Henry VIII was on his deathbed and had his will rewritten, omitting Gardiner from the list of his executors and councillors for his son. Browne, at first thinking this an accident, twice moved the king to include Gardiner and on the second occasion was told to speak no more of it or he would himself be struck out. This incident is also recorded by Foxe, who describes Browne as a principal pillar of Gardiner's side, and whose ultimate source were remarks made by Denny to Cranmer.<sup>(3)</sup>

As lord chancellor Thomas Audley was inevitably of the inner council. It was probably to Cromwell that he owed his promotion to an office which in an earlier period the minister would certainly have taken for himself, but which a recent writer considers him deliberately to have avoided, partly because of a preference for comparative obscurity and partly because the post was cumbered with legal work in the chancery court and the star chamber which was a legacy of Wolsey's tenure of the office.<sup>(4)</sup> But if Audley had the office Cromwell exercised its former powers and the chancellor was very much the

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(1)L.P.XVIII.ii.526. (2)Tudor Tracts (ed.A.F.Pollard) pp.35 et seq. (3)J.Foxe Acts and Monuments V.p.691 Burnet Reformation I.p.548. (4)G.R.Elton The Tudor Revolution in Government pp.123,301.

minister's creature.

Although Audley was preoccupied with judicial work, he did have some functions as a privy councillor. He was normally to be found in or near London, being less often with the court when it was away from the capital than were most other councillors. The king regarded him as the head of the council in London when the council with the king, (at that time the privy council proper), was elsewhere.<sup>(1)</sup> In 1532 when Henry went to Calais, only Audley and one other seem to have been persons of any consequence among the councillors left in London. Although left with written instructions, their powers were very limited and they had to refer all kinds of matters to the council with the king. Nevertheless they were busy, sitting daily in the star chamber or council chamber, the attendance being good in spite of the plague.<sup>(2)</sup>

When the Pilgrimage of Grace broke out Audley, who was in London, was ordered to go to his own county of Essex to "take respect for the quiet of that shire".<sup>(3)</sup> Later, with Cranmer and seven other privy councillors he was directed to attend on the queen, given authority to open and write opinions on letters to the king and, unless the queen required them, to remain in London and keep a watchful eye on its temper. These arrangements were presumably to keep the routine of government functioning if the king should have to go in person against the rebels.<sup>(4)</sup> Audley was among the main targets of the rebels complaints. The articles sent to the king by way of the duke of Norfolk in October 1536 listed Audley with Cromwell, Cranmer and Latimer as "subverters of the laws of God and of the realm".<sup>(5)</sup> The rebels' conference at Pontefract

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(1) L.P. XVI; 1156. (2) L.P. V; 1408, 1421, 1430, 1437, 1450, 1463, 1476, ~~1518~~. (3) L.P. XI; 559. (4) L.P. XI; 580 (3).  
 (5) L.P. XI; 714, 860, 902, XII. i. 201, 853.

noted the first fruits, augmentations and other extortions which Audley, Cromwell and their servants exacted from all parts of the realm.<sup>(1)</sup> Aske said that there was great complaint against the lord chancellor "for so general granting of injunctions and for playing of ambidexter in granting and dissolving of injunctions".<sup>(2)</sup> The second Doncaster meeting between Norfolk and the rebels produced demands for the condign punishment of Cromwell, Audley and Rich as subverters of the good laws of the realm and supporters of heretics.<sup>(3)</sup> Burnet writes that there was a demand that Audley and Cromwell should be excluded from the next parliament.<sup>(4)</sup> Minstrels sang rhymes against them and "divers bishpps of the new learning".<sup>(5)</sup> The abbot of Colchester was heard to say, "I would to Christ that the rebels in the north country had the bishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor and the lord privy seal amongst them and then I trust we should have a merry world again".<sup>(6)</sup> To the rebels' complaints about the declining nobility of the royal council, Henry could not include Audley and Cromwell among those he named in refutation, but he did say that by the council's advice they were included in it for their legal knowledge and skill in diplomacy.<sup>(7)</sup>

With Cranmer and Hertford, Audley formed the council in London during the king's northern progress in 1541.<sup>(8)</sup>

As a privy councillor Audley had a part to play in diplomatic work, but always in a supporting role. Except on the one occasion in 1534 when he spoke angrily to some leading foreign merchants about their attitude to the divorce, he did nothing by himself which has been

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(1) L.P.XI;1182(2). (2) L.P.XII.i.6. (3) L.P.XI;1246

(4) G.Burnet Reformation I.p.369. (5) L.P.XII.i.1021(3).

(6) L.P.XIV.ii.439,454,458. (7) L.P.XI;957, Burnet Reformation I.p.371. (8) L.P.XVI;1011,1019,1032,1047,1141,1204.

preserved among the records.<sup>(1)</sup> On one occasion Ghapuys noted that the chancellor expressed an opinion on foreign affairs in the council, but as long as Cromwell lived Audley's role was to support him by dining with ambassadors or meeting them in the council chamber, at Lambeth, at his own lodgings, at Cromwell's or elsewhere.<sup>(2)</sup> This sort of work continued after Cromwell's fall. In 1542 Audley addressed the Scots nobles taken at Solway Moss on Henry's mercy and goodness.<sup>(3)</sup> On occasions, he took part in formal negotiations, as for example on the treaties with Scotland in 1534 and 1543 and with the imperialists in 1537-8.<sup>(4)</sup> In 1543 he witnessed Henry's oath to a treaty with Charles V.<sup>(5)</sup>

Henry VIII's last minute exclusion of Gardiner from the council he named for his son left the conservative and catholic party leaderless. Cheyne, Wriothesley, Gage, Tunstall, Browne and their like were of insufficient weight to resist Hertford and the reformers. They seem to have decided this while Henry still lived, for on the day of his death Hertford and Browne with a large escort of courtiers went to Hertford, where the new king was and brought him to the residence of his younger sister at Enfield. There they broke the news to both the bereaved children.<sup>(6)</sup> According to an account given by a servant of Browne's to William Cecil many years later, Browne, although he differed from Hertford in matters of religion, agreed, while walking in the garden, that the earl should be protector. Although this was clean contrary to Henry's will, it seemed the soundest form of government for a royal minority.<sup>(7)</sup> This was an

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(1) L.P.VII;726. (2) L.P.VII;690, VIII;327, IX;987, X;699, 1069, XI;7,219,285, XVI;1011,1085,1091,1095. (3) L.P.XVII;1223, XVIII.i.570. (4) L.P.VII;490,530, XIII.i.671,756, XVIII.i.804-5. (5) L.P.XVIII.i.603. (6) J.G. Nichols Literary Remains of Edward VI I.p.lxxxvi, G.Burnet Reformation II.ii.p.3. (7) P.F.Tytler England Under Edward VI and Mary I.p.169, A.F.Pollard England under the Protector Somerset p.18. A.P.C.II p.3 et seq

important gain for Hertford, for it showed him that he would not be resisted by the council in his bid for power.

When Edward VI next day reached the Tower the executors of his father's will, among whom were Browne and Denny, promptly nominated Hertford as protector, and his formal appointment and the ratification of his and the council's powers followed in the succeeding weeks.<sup>(1)</sup> The council's acquiescence was undoubtedly in part bought. Paget, one of the secretaries, made deposition as to the promotions and gifts which had been intended by the late king, a deposition which was supported by Denny and Herbert, the principal gentlemen of the privy chamber. By this process Hertford was advanced to be duke of Somerset. There were other promotions and among gifts added to those mentioned in Henry's will, Browne was given £100 and Denny £200, the first in annual value of land. Paget asserted that a barony had been intended for Cheyne, but it seems that this price was not necessary. Admission to the full council was enough, for he had only been nominated an assistant executor in the will. Even this was preceded by a moment of uncertainty. On 7 March 1547 it was thought that Cheyne, Gage and other conservatives had been ordered to go to their homes, but then told to stay in London for two more weeks.<sup>(2)</sup> Their exclusion from the council, if it ever took place, was very brief, for Cheyne was in council by 12 March and was one of those who on that day signed the confirmation of Somerset's authority. By 21 March his name was on the first list of full councillors for the reign.<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) A.P.C. II p.3 et seq., C.P.R. Edw. VI I p.97, A.P.C. II pp.64-74. (2) C.S.P. Spanish X. p.50. (3) A.P.C. II p.70.



In March 1547 Wriothesley, the lord chancellor, now ennobled as earl of Southampton, was removed from the council and delivered the great seal into the hands of Thomas Seymour, Browne and North. The ostensible reason was the illegal delegation of his judicial powers, but the real cause was his opposition to Somerset.<sup>(1)</sup>

Among the councillors commissioned to govern while Somerset was absent on his Scottish campaign in 1547 were Cheyne, Browne and Denny.<sup>(2)</sup> When the council sent Gardiner to the Tower in June 1548 the names of those present, -Somerset, Cranmer, St. John, Russell and Cheyne- were entered in the council book, an exception to the usual practice under Somerset and indicative of the importance of the action.<sup>(3)</sup> Denny and St. John appear to have questioned Elizabeth at Hatfield in January 1549 on the subject of Thomas Seymour's conduct towards her.<sup>(4)</sup> In common with most of the council Denny and Cheyne signed the order for his committal to the Tower.<sup>(5)</sup> Baker, Cheyne, Smith and Denny were the commons members in a parliament commission which examined him there, and Denny but not Cheyne was one of those who signed the order for his execution in March 1549.<sup>(6)</sup>

Browne had died in April 1548 and Denny died in September 1549. The next month Somerset's power failed. Cheyne went with the majority of the council in supporting Warwick, the supplanter.<sup>(7)</sup> He was sent to the imperial ambassador after the coup d'état had succeeded, to inform him and his master of what had happened.<sup>(8)</sup> Soon after he was sent as ambassador to Charles V in the Netherlands. When he returned he found, according to the

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(1) Burnet Reformation II p.57. (2) A.P.C. II pp.115-118.  
 (3) A.P.C. II p.210. (4) B. Haynes State Papers (5) A.P.C. II p.236.  
 (6) A.P.C. II p.26. (7) N. Pocock Troubles Connected with the Prayer Book of 1549 pp.81, 83-5, 87, 95-101.  
 (8) C.S.P. Spanish II p.457.

same imperial ambassador, that Warwick's party was bent on an extreme protestant policy and Cheyne avoided the ambassador for fear of being noted down a conservative.<sup>(1)</sup>

By the spring of 1553 Edward VI's life and Warwick's (now Northumberland's) power were both running out. On 20 May Charles's envoy reported the king's illness and rumour of preparations. Councillors were to take posts at critical points, Cheyne to have charge of Hampshire with a "goodly following of men".<sup>(2)</sup> The information seems very dubious, for one cannot imagine Cheyne taking station in a crisis anywhere outside his own county of Kent or wardenship of the Cinque ports. He was away from the court after 23 May but was recalled with others in June to be forced by the overbearing Northumberland into an agreement that the succession should be diverted from Mary Tudor to Jane Grey.<sup>(3)</sup> He was one of those who put his signature to Edward's alteration of the succession - or rather to an engagement to maintain it - but it was contrary to his inclination and he, with St. John, now marquess of Winchester, and Russell, earl of Bedford, were the principal opponents of the scheme.<sup>(4)</sup>

When Edward died on 6 July, Jane was proclaimed queen and took up residence in the Tower with her council, as was customary with a monarch prior to coronation. Northumberland, lacking anyone whom he could trust, was forced to leave London to meet the forces rallying round Mary. His party in London rapidly disintegrated. The Tower became virtually a prison for some councillors and Cheyne and Pembroke were trying to get out. On 19 July Cheyne was one of the councillors who signed a letter to Rich,

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(1) C.S.P. Spanish IX p.478, X p.8. (2) C.S.P. Spanish XI p.43. (3) J.G. Nichols Chronicle of Queen Jane etc. pp.91,99, Strype Cranmer pp.911-2. (4) C.S.P. Spanish XI pp.67,70.

lord lieutenant of Essex, bidding him remain loyal to Jane, but that same day he was one of the councillors who managed to get to Baynard's Castle, and late in the afternoon proclaimed Mary at Cheapside and went to St. Paul's for Te Deum.<sup>(1)</sup> A few days later Cheyne, with Sir John Gage, was in command of the Tower and receiving some of Northumberland's principal supporters as prisoners.<sup>(2)</sup> He retained his offices as warden of the Cinque ports and treasurer of the household and was sworn a member of the new queen's privy council.<sup>(3)</sup>

Cheyne was once more sent to the Netherlands in 1553, to the emperor, and he played a part in the next year in putting down the Wyatt rebellion. He nevertheless seems not to have been fully trusted, and in 1554-5, when consideration was given to reducing Mary's oversize privy council, it was proposed to omit his name. The correspondence between Simon Renard, the emperor's ambassador, Philip, Mary's husband, and his father Charles V is of a tone which shows that the Hapsburgs already regarded England as a province of their dynastic bloc. Although not to be a member, Cheyne as lord warden would have had access to the council to make reports. But the whole proposal came to nothing and he continued a member, although his attendance at court was infrequent.<sup>(4)</sup>

Mary died on 17 November 1558 and Thomas Cheyne was one of the notables ordered to attend upon her successor with all available servants when she came to London. He attended the privy council in the Charterhouse from 24 to 28 November,<sup>(5)</sup> but it was his last service to the Tudor house, all of whose members he had served. On 16 December 1558 he died in the Tower, where the court resided.

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(1) J.G. Nichols *Chronicle of Queen Jane etc.*, Strype *Cranmer* pp.433, 913, H. Machyn *Diary* p.37. (2) C.S.P. *Spanish* XI p.114, A.P.C. IV p.302. (3) A.P.C. IV p.312. (4) C.S.P. *Spanish* XIII p.101, 151. (5) A.P.C. VII p.8.

## Chapter V Religion.

The religious views of our men present a fair cross section of those held nationally during the Henrician reformation. From the firm Catholicism and hinted papalism in John Wallop to the advanced protestant views in Anthony Denny, most shades of contemporary opinion were to be found.

John Wallop was no politician, but his sympathies lay most emphatically with the Howard faction in Henry's council. Like Fitzwilliam, Cheyne and Browne, he had served in arms under Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey and later second duke of Norfolk, but his association seems to have been a closer one than theirs. He was under his command against the French in 1513-14 and in 1522, and he also served him in Ireland in 1520-22. Howard commended him to Wolsey as a man meet to do the king good service in war, painstaking and diligent.<sup>(1)</sup>

In the king's "great matter" Wallop was entirely and openly on the side of Katherine. In 1533, when ambassador in France, he was known by the Venetian envoy to disapprove of the divorce and to praise the innocence and patience of the queen and her daughter, and to assert their popularity in England.<sup>(2)</sup> Two years later the papal nuncio reported him an enemy to Anne and friend to Katherine, whose "creature" his wife was.<sup>(3)</sup> In 1536 the nuncio wrote that Gardiner, in France with Wallop, and Wallop himself, were most anxious for Henry to alter his course,<sup>(4)</sup> a hope strengthened soon after by the fall of Anne Boleyn.<sup>(5)</sup> Later in the year the nuncio made a

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(1) P.R.O. S.P.60.1., C.S.P.Irish p.3., L.P.III;1004,1097, 1251,2,1358, pp.1543-4, Appx.15. (2) C.S.P.Venetian IV. 871. (3) L.P.IX;970. (4) L.P.X;570. (5) L.P.X;956,XI;52.

number of references to Wallop as the friend of Reginald Pole.<sup>(1)</sup> In the examination of Sir Geoffrey Pole in 1538 in connection with the Exeter conspiracy, he was asked if his brother, Lord Montague, had had any treasonable conferences with Hastings, Carew or Wallop, and it was noted that Montague had put a certain Thomas Nanfant to Wallop in France to learn the French tongue.<sup>(2)</sup>

In 1539 Wallop, lieutenant of Calais castle, was, with Lords Lisle and Sandys and most of the Calais council, the subject of complaint to Cromwell by the very protestant Sir George Carew, as being "unwilling that the word of God should prosper among us", showing great rigour to those of "honest judgement", and gentleness to others.<sup>(3)</sup> At the same time Lisle was writing to Browne that he, with Sandys and Wallop, was resisting erroneous opinions on the sacrament and scripture. Other letters show them rooting out heretics at Calais.<sup>(4)</sup> In January 1540 a priest at Guisnes, arrested for having pardons in his possession, stated that Wallop was his good friend.<sup>(5)</sup> In March 1540, back in France as ambassador once more, Wallop wrote to Lisle that he was pleased to learn from Norfolk that the king was suppressing those who preached and taught against the old ceremonies<sup>(6)</sup> Thomas Barnaby, his relative, believed that he was a papalist at heart.<sup>(7)</sup>

In May 1540 Lisle was arrested on charges of treason and it was rumoured that Wallop had fled to Rome. Cromwell, fighting for survival, was in a very "jumpy" state and sent to ask if the French ambassador had any information, and to warn him that if Wallop had left the

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(1) L.P. XI; 1173, 1297, XII. i. 34, 53, 525. (2) L.P. XIII. ii. 804-805. (3) L.P. XIV. i. 1009. (4) L.P. XIV. i. 1042, 1139, 1144, 1152, 1166. (5) L.P. XV; 37. (6) L.P. XV; 429. (7) Strype Memorials II. ii. p. 492.

French court no diplomatic significance should be attached to it, as he had done so without authority. "This shows the opinion they have of their ambassador" commented Marillac.<sup>(1)</sup> Cromwell's fall was welcome to Wallop, who seems to have been his enemy. Wallop believed that Cromwell had deliberately put about the rumour of his flight to Rome. In 1535 Chapuys reported a story that after Wolsey's death (Did he mean his fall?) / Wallop attacked Cromwell with insults and threats and that for protection Cromwell had procured audience with the king and promised to make him the richest king that ever was in England.<sup>(2)</sup>

The last years of Henry VIII were probably much suited to Wallop's religious tastes. Incidents from the period of his command at Guisnes show him dealing with religious matters. Du Bies, the local commander for the French king, sent him note of an Englishman arrested for heresy near Boulogne. The bishop of Therouenne had sent for the man, but Du Bies offered him to Wallop for trial. Wallop returned thanks, saying that he could not act in a church matter but that the man should not be delivered to the bishop, for he "should have as good justice here and as brief, being an heretic, as in any other part of Christendom."<sup>(3)</sup> In 1543 there was an outbreak of iconoclasm at Guisnes and "fearful examples" were made of the culprits.<sup>(4)</sup>

Wallop retained his old affection and concern for Norfolk, sending good wishes for the success of his 1542 expedition against Scotland, having mass of the Holy Ghost, with procession, to be said three days a week in

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(1) L.P. XV; 737. (2) L.P. IX; 862. (3) L.P. XVII; 431, 507.

(4) L.P. XVIII.i.420.

in both town and castle at Guisnes, until he heard of the duke's safe return.<sup>(1)</sup> The esteem was returned, for Norfolk thought highly of Wallop both as a soldier and ambassador.<sup>(2)</sup> In his will Wallop committed his soul to God and asked for the prayers of Our Lady and the heavenly company. His younger brother Giles was a priest.

Anthony Browne's religious opinions were certainly conservative, but whereas Wallop made no secret of his opposition to changes in the church and in 1541 was arrested on suspicion of being involved with Richard Pate, who had fled to Rome, Browne was able to avoid placing his neck in jeopardy for his beliefs.<sup>(3)</sup> Although by 1539 he was bracketed with Stephen Gardiner as a conservative in the council<sup>(4)</sup> and he made efforts to have the bishop named by Henry VIII for his sons council, he made no resistance to the seizure of power by the protestant Hertford in 1547. In 1543 his chaplain was examined in the case between Cranmer and the canons of Canterbury which was one of the efforts to destroy the archbishop made by the conservatives in these years.<sup>(5)</sup> Browne's will, made in April 1547, directed the saying of masses and dirges by the priests of Battle church and his own chaplains, and £20 to the poor on the day of his burial, to pray for his soul.

Thomas Cheyne's accomodating disposition in religion enabled him to survive and to keep his offices from the reign of Henry VIII to the of Elizabeth. He was a Henrician catholic, traditional but anti-papal.<sup>(6)</sup> In 1541 his own son accused him to the council of treason because

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(1) L.P.XVII;782,1005. (2) L.P.XV;224. (3) See Chapter VIII.  
 (4) A.F.Pollard Tudor Tracts pp.35 et seq. (5) L.P.XVIII.  
 ii.546. (6) L.P.XIV.i.728.

he had images in his chapel, but the charge was dismissed as maliciously frivolous.<sup>(1)</sup> In 1543 his name was mentioned in the case of Cranmer and the Canterbury canons and he may have been one of the examining commission. His chaplain had been asked by the canons to get him to intercede on behalf of an ardent catholic, Robert Serles vicar of Lenham and a preacher at Canterbury.<sup>(2)</sup> At the outset of Edward VI's reign he was regarded as one of the catholic conservative group of councillors. Charles V's ambassador considered him a timid man, much addicted to worldly goods, but prepared to spend all he had to restore matters to a better condition.<sup>(3)</sup> In 1553 he was one of the most reluctant followers of Northumberland. His will committed his soul to God and declared that he was "in the true faith of our mother, the universal catholic church". He left £20 yearly for a chantry priest to say masses at Minster in Sheppey.

In his religion, as in so much else, Thomas Audley was a poor carbon copy of Thomas Cromwell, a reformer for reasons of state rather than of conscience. In 1533 the French ambassador thought them both deadly enemies of Rome.<sup>(4)</sup> It was Audley who accused Fisher of being the greatest exalter of the papacy.<sup>(5)</sup> John Hooper classed him among the chief supporters of the gospel in England and the rebels of 1536 called him one of the leading subverters of the laws of God and of the realm.<sup>(6)</sup> In 1537 Sir Humphrey Monmouth, alderman of London and onetime patron of William Tyndale, bequeathed to Audley and Cromwell each a silver cup to favour the execution of his bequest of thirty marks for the preaching of thirty

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(1) L.P.XVI;1375. (2) L.P.XVIII.ii.546. (3) C.S.P.Spanish IX p.462, X p.8. (4) L.P.VI;1572. (5) L.P.VIII;856(21). (6) L.P.XI;1246, XXI.i.131.



sermons in London by Latimer and other reformers "to the laud of God, the setting forth of the king's godly purposes and the extinction of the feigned power of the bishop of Rome".<sup>(1)</sup> Audley promised to take care of the son of the German reformer Bullinger, if he should come to England. English reformers considered Audley, with Cranmer, as their friend.<sup>(2)</sup> When Grafton, a printer of the bible in English, was before the council in 1540 for some verses in commendation of Cromwell he was believed to have printed, and Bonner accused him of speaking favourably of the fallen minister, he was protected by his friend Audley.<sup>(3)</sup>

When Cromwell and Audley saw that the king was set on the act for the Six Articles they did not resist it. Burchardus, the Saxony envoy in England in 1539, told Melancthon that the act was engineered by Gardiner and Bonner in order to supplant Audley, Cranmer and Cromwell, excellent men and most friendly to the purer doctrine of the gospel.<sup>(4)</sup> If this was true, the scheme met with failure, and Audley, with Cromwell, Cranmer and Suffolk succeeded in mitigating its effects in London. Burnet asserts that Bonner and his fellow commissioners for the Articles in London arrested five hundred persons, but the councillors mentioned above persuaded the king that it was done of malice and so secured their pardon.<sup>(5)</sup> Strype gives a figure of nearly two hundred arrests, which nevertheless overfilled the London prisons, and he records that Audley ordered their appearance in star chamber, where no evidence was offered against them.<sup>(6)</sup> It is possible that the two incidents were separate.

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(1)L.P.XII.ii.1100. (2)L.P.XV;383, XVI;1204. (3)Burnet Reformation I. p.475. (4)Strype Cranmer p.104, L.P. XIV.ii.423. (5)Burnet Reformation I p.427 (6)Strype Memorials I.i.p.566.

In 1543 there may have been a plot to oust Audley from the chancellorship, for a report was abroad that he was to be succeeded by a known catholic, Sir John Baker.<sup>(1)</sup>

In some matters Audley's office left him no choice but to act against reformers, burning New Testaments, examining heretics and issuing writs for their burning.<sup>(2)</sup> More congenial perhaps was hearing sermons against the pope preached by Cranmer and Tunstall<sup>(3)</sup> and the occasion in 1538 when Our Lady of Walsingham was brought to Lambeth before Audley, Cromwell and the bishops "without any honours".<sup>(4)</sup>

Audley's attitude in religion is clearly revealed in two of his letters to Cromwell. In 1535 he sent him a book recently published concerning the removal of images and said he intended to send for the printer and have it stopped. He had recently been in Essex, where the worship of saints and images, creeping to the cross and similar ceremonies were the subjects of much discord which ought to be silenced. He recommended that a proclamation against preaching and the public expression of opinion on these topics be issued, until the king had put out orders on the laws of the church.<sup>(5)</sup> Earlier in the same year a report to Audley concerning the "misbehaviour of certain seditious preachers" in Bristol led to the issue of a commission to enquire into the matter.<sup>(6)</sup> The other letter to Cromwell comes from 1537, and again refers to Essex, where Audley found contentious preaching in various parishes and the people disturbed. He asked Cromwell to send the latest "book determined by the king, to be set forth and concluded by the bishop's and clergy".<sup>(7)</sup>

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- (1) L.P.XVIII.ii.546. (2) L.P.VI;661, VIII;1,1063, X;462, XI;369, XIV.i.1001,1219, Strype Cranmer pp.643-4., Foxe.Acts and Monuments Vpp.35-7. (3) Wriothesley Chronicle I pp.33-4. (4) L.P.XIII.i.1407. (5) L.P.IX;358  
 (6) L.P.IX;189. (7) L.P.XII.ii.329. The reference is to the Institution of a Christian Man or "Bishops' Book" of 1537.

The emphasis in Audley's religious views lay on the need for uniformity in following the royal will, as a basis for public order and quiet.

In his will the chancellor commended his soul to the Trinity. To his wife he left chapel ornaments and half the vestments, copes and altar cloths from his chapel. To his college of Magdalene, Cambridge, he left vestments and ornaments, and he bequeathed a pension for the preaching of a Good Friday sermon in a Colchester church.

Anthony Denny was a convinced reformer. His will commends his soul to the Trinity and lays stress on salvation through grace and not works. Strype called him a "great favourer of professors of the gospel".<sup>(1)</sup> Among his friends were the strong protestants Edmund Harvel,<sup>(2)</sup> Richard Morison,<sup>(3)</sup> and Richard Cox, one of prince Edward's tutors and later bishop of Ely.<sup>(4)</sup> In 1544 Sir Philip Hoby alienated land to his own use to Denny and Berkeley of the privy chamber, William Butts, who was one of Henry's physicians and a reformer, and Thomas Sternhold.<sup>(5)</sup> Sternhold, one of the translators of the metrical psalms, had in 1543 been imprisoned with Hoby for abetting heresy.<sup>(6)</sup> A letter by Ridley in 1552 trusted that God's wrath was now satisfied in punishing divers orders of the realm for their disorder, having taken away singular ornaments from them, as learning by the death of Bucer, counsel by Denny, etc.<sup>(7)</sup> Foxe observed of Henry VIII that "as long as queen Anne, T.Crumwell, bishop Cranmer, Mr.Denny, Dr.Butts and such like, were about him, and could prevail with him, what organ of Christ's glory did more good in the church than he ...?"<sup>(8)</sup>

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(1) Strype Memorials II.ii.p.41. (2) L.P.XVIII.i.576.

(3) L.P.IV;726. (4) L.P.XIX.ii.726. (5) L.P.XIX.i.810(114).

(6) A.P.C.I.p.97. (7) Strype Life of Cheke p.89.

(8) Strype Cranmer p.635 (note).

On two occasions in 1543 Cranmer's secretary, Morris, sought the aid of Denny and Butts. The first time was on behalf of Cranmer when he was making no headway in examining the canons of Canterbury who had accused him of heresy. Denny and Butts interceded with the king and Sir Thomas Leigh was sent down to clear the matter up in the archbishop's favour.<sup>(1)</sup> On the second occasion He secured their aid on behalf of the parson of Chartham, near Canterbury, a strong protestant indicted under the act for the Six Articles. As a result the king commanded that he be not molested.<sup>(2)</sup> Several times Henry intervened to protect Cranmer from accusation of heresy by the conservative faction in the council. In one instance, probably in 1545, he had agreed that Cranmer should be questioned by the council next day and arrested if cause could be shown. His enemies concluded that he was at their mercy, but that night the king sent Denny to fetch him from Lambeth to Westminster. Arrangements were made for him to claim royal protection at the critical moment. The incident appears in Shakespear's "Henry VIII" but is placed a dozen years too early.<sup>(3)</sup>

Denny's reformed opinions were strongly shared, and perhaps fostered by his wife. When Anne Askew was examined for heresy by Bonner in Fulham Palace in 1546, he told her that he showed her favour because of her gentle birth and good friends, whereupon a servant of Denny's called out, "Rather ought you, my lord, to have done it in such case for God's sake than for man's"<sup>(4)</sup> Months later she was examined in the Tower by Rich and Wriothesley. Asked if she knew any man or woman of her sect

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(1) Strype Cranmer p.172. (2) L.P.XVIII.i.pp.L-LII.

(3) Strype Cranmer p.178, Burnet Reformation I p.538.

(4) L.P.XX.i.390.

she answered that she knew none. Asked about ladies Suffolk, Sussex, Hertford, Denny and Fitzwilliam, she replied that she could prove nothing about them but she later admitted that she had received in prison money from men who said that it had been sent by Lady Hertford and Lady Denny.<sup>(1)</sup> Strype declared that the persecution was engineered by Gardiner who aimed not only at those named but at queen Katherine Parr herself.<sup>(2)</sup> Joan Denny came of the Devon family of Champernowne and some of her kin were strongly protestant. Sir George Carew, her cousin, was the opponent of Lisle, Sandys and Wallop in their efforts to root out heresy from Calais. During Mary's reign, Denny's two eldest sons, who had been at Pembroke college, Cambridge, were sent abroad to Basel university.<sup>(3)</sup>

Hardest to place for his religious standpoint is William Fitzwilliam. Perhaps the key to understanding him is to assume that what the king thought today, Fitzwilliam would agree with tomorrow at the latest.

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(1) L.P.XXI.i.1181. (2) Strype Memorials I.i.p.598. In 1544 Katherine Parr gave half a stag to Mrs.Denny. - L.P.XIX.ii.688. (3) J.&.S.A.Venn Alumni Cantabrigienses.

## Chapter VI Parliament

The Tudor courtier and household officer commonly found his way into parliament. Of our six, only Wallop was never in the house of commons.

Thomas Audley, burgess of Colchester, was one of the borough's two members in the parliament of 1523.<sup>(1)</sup> When the next parliament opened in 1529 he had the greater<sup>(2)</sup> dignity of a seat as one of the shire knights for Essex. On 4 December he was presented to the king as the common choice for their speaker. Such choice was heavily guided and the speaker was virtually a royal nominee, often a royal servant as well. Audley had several years royal service behind him, at first on the council in the marches of Wales and then as attorney general of the duchy of Lancaster.<sup>(3)</sup> In Edward VI's last parliament the speaker was nominated by Thomas Cheyne, the treasurer of the household, and chosen by the house, according to the commons' Journal, and there is a similar entry for Mary's first parliament. In her third parliament the speaker was conducted to his chair by the treasurer and comptroller.<sup>(4)</sup> When he was presented to the king Audley made the usual speech, disabling himself from the task as being unworthy. This plea was, also as usual, rejected, and he followed with the customary claim of free speech for the commons' house. The king's answer was made through lord chancellor More, who had been speaker in 1523.<sup>(5)</sup> It was a speaker that Audley was later to lead to the king the deputation of thirty M.P.s which complained of Fisher's words in the lords in which he seemed to impute

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(1) W.G. Benham The Red Paper Book of Colchester p.26

(2) L.P.IV;6043(2). (3) F.Madden Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary p.xxxix. R.Somerville History of the Duchy of Lancaster I. p.407. (4) Commons Journals I. pp24 et seq. (5) L.P.IV;6043(2),

heresy and heathenism to the commons because they had passed a bill against clerical abuses.<sup>(1)</sup> Fisher was asked to explain and denied any such intention. The king sent his answer to the house by the treasurer of his household, Sir William Fitzwilliam, a shire knight for Surrey.<sup>(2)</sup> In 1532 Audley had a number of meetings with the king in the matter of Temse, M.P., who had made a motion that the king be urged to take back his wife Katherine and avoid the danger to the succession which would result from the bastardizing of Mary. The matter was delicate for Katherine was genuinely popular and Henry and Cromwell wanted no trouble from the parliament that was breaking the ties with Rome at their behest. Audley seem to have handled the matter skilfully and it has been said that his work earned him the great promotion that came his way in the same year.<sup>(3)</sup> When More resigned the lord chancellorship rather than go along with Henry in the matter of the divorce, the great seal was given to Audley with the title of keeper and a knighthood.<sup>(4)</sup> The next year, 1533, he was given the full dignity of lord chancellor, which involved his removal from the commons to preside over the lords.<sup>(5)</sup>

Fitzwilliam was a shire knight for Surrey with Nicholas Carew in the 1529 parliament.<sup>(6)</sup> In 1530 he was one of the "Milites et Doctores in Parlamento" who signed the petition of the lords spiritual and temporal praying Clement VII to grant Henry his divorce.<sup>(7)</sup> He would have remained a member of this parliament until its dissolution in 1536. There are no returns for the new one of 1536 and no extant references to Fitzwilliam acting

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(1) Burnet Reformation I pp.143-4. (2) E. Herbert The Life and Reign of King Henry the Eighth. p.321. (3) D.N.B. - Audley. (4) L.P.V;1075. (5) L.P.VI;73,142. (6) L.P.IV; 6043(2). (7) L.P.IV;6513.

as a member, but it is unlikely that so active a councillor had no seat. In 1537 his earldom took him into the lords until his death in 1542.

The returns for the 1539-40 parliament are also missing, but we know that Thomas Cheyne sat in the commons, almost certainly for his own county of Kent. He is twice mentioned in the Lords' Journals as being among those who brought up bills from the commons and in July 1540 he was among those from the lower house who went to the lords and agreed to their suggestion for an address to the king questioning the validity of the Cleves marriage. The returns for the 1542 parliament are damaged and the only shire knight shown for Kent is Thomas Moyle. Once again there are no returns for the 1545 parliament, but the Lords' Journals show Cheyne bringing up a subsidy bill in December of that year.<sup>(1)</sup> Kent is missing from the 1547 returns. Willis names Thomas Moyle and Ralph Vane as the Kent knights<sup>(2)</sup> but the Commons' Journals, first extant for this parliament, show that in February 1548 "Mr. Treasurer" (Cheyne) headed a commission of five privy councillors, among whom was also Anthony Denny, to which a private bill was committed for determination. Later in the same month another bill has Cheyne's name written against it in the Journal, indicating not a formal committal for amendment but for perusal.<sup>(3)</sup> In February 1549 Cheyne, Denny, John Baker, (the speaker), and Thomas Smith, were the commons members on a committee of both houses which examined Thomas Seymour on the day before his attainder.<sup>(4)</sup> There is therefore plenty of evidence that Cheyne sat in the parliament of 1547-52

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(1) Lords' Journals I. 12 & 16 May 31 Henry VIII, 6 July 32 Henry VIII, 14 December 37 Henry VIII. (2) B. Willis Notitia Parliamentaria. (3) Commons' Journals I. p.8., Transactions of the Royal Historical Society LXV(1950) p.311-article by J.E.Neale. (4) A.P.C. II p.258



and it seems improbable that he would have represented any county other than Kent. He sat for the county in the 1553 parliaments of Edward VI and Mary, in both those of 1554 and that of 1557-8, but not that of 1555.<sup>(1)</sup> He is recorded as taking bills up to the house of lords, having bills committed to him, nominating the speaker, and conducting him to his chair, at various times. On occasions he indicated the royal will to the house - that the commons should present their chosen speaker, that the queen's pleasure was such, that the king and queen would next day be in the parliament house to give assent to a bill. His servants on two occasions were granted the house's protection against legal attachment.<sup>(2)</sup>

Anthony Browne was mentioned as a candidate for Surrey in the 1539 elections<sup>(3)</sup> and the Lords' Journals show that he sat in the commons, being twice concerned in taking bills to the upper house in that year. He was M.P for Surrey in 1542 and witnessed Lord Sandys' proxy given to the earl of Southampton (Fitzwilliam) and Lord Russell. He sat for Surrey in 1547, in which parliament his eldest son was a burgess for Guildford.<sup>(4)</sup>

Anthony Denny was entirely a personal servant of Henry VIII. His political career did not begin until his master's death, only two years before his own. Henry named him one of his successor's council. In 1547 Denny was returned to the commons for Herts. We have already noted that he was engaged in the same sort of parliament duties as other privy councillors.<sup>(5)</sup>

The character of elections to parliament in the Tudor period and the extent to which they were controlled or

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(1) (Official) Return of the Name of Every Member of the Lower House (etc.) I. (2) Commons' Journals I. pp. 9, 24, 26, 30, 37, 38. (3) L.P. XIV. i. 520 (4) Lords' Journals I., (Official) Return, . (5) (Official) Return.

managed is a debateable and debated problem. The fact that king and commons shared many views and interests makes it even more of a problem in the reign of Henry VIII. There is no doubt that the electors expected guidance and got it, from the local magnates, most of whom consulted the government's interests in the advice they gave, but some of whom were in opposition. The case of the city of Canterbury in the general election of 1536 is an unusually extreme example of government interference. A letter from Cromwell and Audley naming the two burgesses to be chosen had arrived too late for the election and two others were chosen. What followed was even more high handed, for the mayor and corporation were ordered to hold a fresh election and return the royal nominees, which they did, ninety seven votes for, nemo contra !<sup>(1)</sup>

We get a somewhat different impression from letters from Fitzwilliam to Cromwell in 1539. The elections of that year took place in the midst of preparations to resist invasion. Fitzwilliam, then lord admiral, was on his way to Portsmouth. He called on Sir Richard Weston to see if he would be one of the knights for Surrey. Weston was ill in bed and did not expect to recover, but said he would do his best to secure the return of Anthony Browne and Sir Mathew Browne (the latter of another branch of the family). At Guildford Fitzwilliam summoned the mayor and others and offered to supply burgesses who would save the town much expense. They thanked him and said that they already had one candidate but that the other seat was at his disposal. He wrote to Cromwell

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(1)L.P.X;852,929.

that the town's choice was a kinsman of one of the minister's own servants and "will do his part in what the king intendeth". For the other, if the king did not name one of his own chamber or anyone else, Fitzwilliam would put forward one of his own servants. For Sussex he considered that, with the aid of the local landowners, he could secure the choice of the government's men, Sir William Goring and Sir John Gage. For Portsmouth he "intended" one burgess to be John Chaderton, (a ship captain who had served under him), and for the other seat and the borough of Midhurst he would furnish honest men. For Hants he would see to the election according to the "king's mind". Later, when Cromwell, (i.e. the king's mind) desired a change, Fitzwilliam deferred the election until the next meeting of the shire court, and sent a short list to Cromwell for the minister to make his choice. About his chance of success at Farnham he was doubtful, for it was the bishop of Winchester's town and he had already named his men, but at Cromwell's command the admiral agreed to see what he could do. He would secure one of Cromwell's friends in the borough of Gatton, owned by Sir Roger Copley, where there was only one house in the town "of any help towards wages".<sup>(1)</sup>

The picture is largely one of an overriding royal influence, in southern England at all events. In three shires, Sussex, Surrey and Hants, the choice of knights is spoken of as foregone conclusion, provided the local magnates give support. In southern England they usually would give support to a Tudor government, and the atmosphere of 1539 was one of patriotic fervour. Of the five

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(1) L.P. XIV 1.520, 564, 573, 645.

boroughs mentioned, only Guildford was of sufficient independence to name one of its burgesses. Portsmouth, where official influence must have been strong because of the naval installations, and Midhurst, where Fitzwilliam was himself the local bigwig, seem to have had no choice. Farnham belonged to Cromwell's enemy, Stephen Gardiner. Its choice was directed but might be directed against the government. Gatton was already so decayed as to have become a "pocket borough". It is a pity that the absence of returns for the 1539 elections prevents our knowing whether Fitzwilliam's confident tone was justified.

A privy council letter of 1547 ordered Cheyne to recommend Sir John Baker "so to those that have the naming of the knights of the shire as at the next parliament he may be made knight of the shire of Kent accordingly".<sup>(1)</sup> A.F.Pollard observed that this was the sole attempt by Somerset's government to interfere in parliamentary elections and that it was not successful.<sup>(2)</sup> Baker, a man of Kent, was intended for speaker. It is not known whether he was a candidate in fact, but this was the parliament for which Willis gives Moyle and Vane as the Kent shire knights, and for which Cheyne certainly sat. In October Baker was returned for Hunts.

The last hint of influenced elections which arises from the men we are studying, comes from December 1557, when the sheriff of Kent received instructions from the privy council to inform Cheyne of the day and time for the shire elections. Cheyne was one of those elected.<sup>(3)</sup>

Thomas Audley, keeper of the great seal from 20 May

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(1) A.P.C. II. p. 516. (2) A.F. Pollard England under the Protector Somerset p. 71 n. (3) A.P.C. VI. p. 216.

1532, was promoted lord chancellor in the early days of 1533, presumably so that he could preside over the upper house in the session begun on 4 February in that year. The previous session had ended just before More resigned the office. There are no Lords' Journals for 1515-1533, so we have no record of the February - May 1533 session, but from 1534 until his death ten years later we can follow Audley's presence in parliament with only one significant gap, that of February - April 1536. It was the chancellor's duty to open each session's proceedings with a speech usually in the king's presence, with the commons in attendance - a speech from the throne in effect. He made such a one in 1533.<sup>(1)</sup> No such ceremony is recorded at the beginning of the next session in January 1534; in fact the chancellor adjourned the meeting on account of sparse attendance. The spring session of 1536, the next one of any length, is unrecorded, but at the opening of the newly elected parliament in June 1536, Audley in his scarlet parliament robe, with scarlet hood furred with white, the great seal borne before him, made a half hour speech.<sup>(2)</sup> In the next parliament, which met on 28 April 1539 there was an opening address.<sup>(3)</sup> There is no note of one at the start of its second session on 30 May, but there is for the third on 12 April 1540. At the start of the January 1542 parliament he made a speech, but once again in January 1543 and likewise in January 1544 we have no record of any opening ceremony.

The prorogations of parliament in March 1534, June 1535

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(1) L.P.VI;303 (2) Wriothesley Chronicle I.pp.45,47.

(3) Wriothesley Chronicle I.p.94, Burnet Reformation I.p.335.

April 1542 and May 1543, and the dissolutions of July 1536 and June 1540 also took place in the presence of the king, with speeches by the chancellor and the speaker. Sometimes prorogations were made by commission under letters patent. On 20 May 1549 Audley was ordered to attend on the king with an address for prorogation, which took place on 23 May. The April-May session in 1540 was also prorogued by commission and the dissolution of January 1544 was by commission, Norfolk, the lord treasurer making the closing speech in Audley's absence. Some sessions were prorogued as soon as they had begun, usually on account of pestilence in London. In October 1532 Audley wrote to Cromwell that he required a commission under the great seal to do so; one was issued empowering the archbishop of Canterbury, the earl of Sussex (1) and Audley himself to prorogue until the next February. Such meetings were formalities, for writs were sent to the sheriffs notifying them and so warning members not to journey to London. (2) The commissioners sat in the lords' house, the parliament chamber proper, sometimes as few as two, sometimes as many as fifteen peers present, and in the commons' house the speaker and a few M.P.-s, probably from those in the royal household or in royal service in the capital. The November sessions were not infrequently cancelled on account of pestilence. In 1535 the king decided as early as 13 September that plague ruled out the autumn session, (3) and the session was also immediately closed in 1539, 1542, 1543 and 1546. The same thing happened in January 1540. The chancellor presided over the lords' deliberations, a normal duty,

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(1) L.P.V;1450. (2) L.P.V;1515. (3) LYP.IX;370

held proxies for absent peers and introduced government bills, among other duties. On the third day of the 1539 parliament he informed the house that the king had commanded him to move the appointment of a committee to examine differences in religion and draw up articles for agreement.<sup>(1)</sup> They failed to reach agreement and the king then produced his own six articles and came down to the parliament and "confounded" those who opposed them with "God's learning". On 30 May, when parliament reassembled after a week's prorogation, Audley introduced a bill to punish those who offended against the articles, and this became the celebrated Act for the Six Articles.

For the chancellor attendance in the parliament house took precedence over all other business. Until his last years Audley rarely missed a sitting. From the time the Lords' Journals resume in January 1534 until 10 May 1539 he was never absent, although it must be remembered that the record for February-April 1536 is missing. The next recorded absence is in May 1540, when he was absent for the feast of the Garter, the year being that in which he was elected to the order. In the January-April session of 1542 he was absent four times and in January-May 1543 nineteen times. In his last session, January-March 1544 he missed twenty two sittings, almost half the total, but he was by that time a very sick man.

In the first session of 1534 the house of lords met on one, two or three days in succession, the record showing that on the intervening day or days sessions of star chamber or convocation were held and parliament could not meet. This seems to have been disregarded after

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(1) Burnet Reformation I.410

1536, when the succession of parliament sittings sometimes increases to a full week of six days. Occasionally there were special holidays, as in the invasion threat year of 1539, when on 8 May the house was adjourned on meeting to see the citizens parade under arms, marching five abreast from Mile End through London to St. James' and back via Holbourn and Newgate. Audley, Norfolk and Suffolk watched them from Suffolk's house near Charing Cross and the chancellor estimated the total at 16,500.<sup>(1)</sup>

The lords usually met at 9 a.m., or an hour earlier if business pressed. Sometimes sessions were also held from 2 p.m.. When the king prorogued or dissolved it was usually at an afternoon session. In the morning, when being adjourned, the lords would be ordered to robe and the commons to assemble in the afternoon.

We have already noted that on two occasions Cheyne's servants were granted by the commons protection from arrest on private suits when their master was a M.P. This was in 1555 and shows a rapid extension from master to servant of a privilege established only a dozen years earlier. In 1542 George Ferrers, M.P. was arrested at a private suit and imprisoned in the Counter. The commons acted on their own authority, sending the serjeant at arms with the mace to release him. There was a scuffle with the sheriff's officers and the commons refused to proceed with their business and asked for a conference with the lords. Audley, an old commons man, upheld them and left the dealing of punishment to them. They committed the sheriffs and their officers to the Tower on the speaker's warrant.

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(1) Wriothesley Chronicle I.p.96.



Audley's department, the chancery, was responsible for the clerical staffing of both houses, writs for elections and the summoning of peers. In 1536 he wrote to Lisle at Calais that burgesses be sent to parliament from the town and that Lisle himself need not obey his writ of summons unless he received further orders.<sup>(1)</sup> The chancery was also responsible for the publication of statutes. He sent Lisle acts concerning Calais in 1536 and in 1539 the king's printer delivered 1500 "books of the statutes" to him.<sup>(2)</sup>

Fitzwilliam's peerage as earl of Southampton was given in 1537. His first opportunity to sit with the lords was in April 1539, and he was a regular and frequent attender. He was one of the triers of petitions from England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales in 1539 and in 1542. In the Journals his name was recorded next to last among the earls in the first few days, but then advanced to second place after the ancient earldom of Oxford, and he is thenceforward described as admiral, the clerk seemingly considering that this office gave him greater precedence. From April 1540 his name was first among the earls and from the following June he was placed after the marquess of Dorset, presumably because he was by then privy seal. He was one of the committee that dealt with the commons in the matter of the nullity of the Cleves marriage, and he reported for the committee of lords which, on Audley's suggestion, visited Katherine Howard before her attainder.

It is clear that our new men rendered the crown most valuable service in parliament. Audley presided over

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(1)L.P.X;874 (2)L.P.X;936, XIV;i.1227.

each house in turn, Fitzwilliam was active in both commons and lords, Cheyne, Browne and, for a short period, Denny, played a leading part in the commons. Further, they were expected to use energetic influence as royal servants and local landowners to ensure that acceptable members were returned to the commons.

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The parliamentary sessions during this period are listed in the Cambridge Modern History XIII Table 147.

## Chapter VII Administration; Central and Local.

Tudor courtiers played parts in the manning of the machinery of government at both local and national level. It is at times difficult to ascertain in what particular capacity a man was acting, for the royal servant took with him some of the authority of the king wherever he went, regardless of any particular office which he might hold.

As lord chancellor, Audley worked very much in the shadow of Thomas Cromwell's power. His office carried great precedence and dignity, but the political power wielded by Wolsey and others among its holders did not emanate from the custody of the great seal but from the royal favour. Wolsey's successor who was also Audley's predecessor, Thomas More, had the ability and the opportunity to be the chief minister, but disqualified himself by his attitude to the "king's great matter". Lord chancellor Audley was primarily a judge and four hundred bundles and files of chancery proceedings testify that his dozen years in office were not idle ones.<sup>(1)</sup> The chancellor also presided in the star chamber court, in which members of the council provided special justice during the legal terms. Star chamber was an offshoot of the king's council, and during the reign of Henry VIII yet another offshoot first appeared with certainty, that is to say the court of requests for poor men's causes. Fitzwilliam was among the group of councillors appointed to this court in 1528-9.<sup>(2)</sup> Later, as lord privy seal, he was theoretically its president, but did not in

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(1) P.R.O. Lists and Indexes Nos. VI, VII, VIII.

(2) I.S. Leadam Select cases in the Court of Requests  
1497-1569 pp. CII et seq.

practice sit in the court.<sup>(1)</sup>

However many courts grew from the king's council, the fountain of royal justice was inexhaustible, and the privy council which emerged in 1540, like all its antecessors, dealt with a good deal of quasi-judicial business amongst the affairs of almost every conceivable kind which claimed its attention. In such work the lord chancellor understandably played a leading part. What is surprising is the amount of time which Cromwell found to spare for such matters. He often worked in conjunction with Audley and the Letters and Papers of Henry VIII show them dealing with cases involving inheritance, common land, the silk meter of London, maintenance of a daughter in law, possession of estates, pulling down a town wall, wards, town and gown troubles at both universities, heresy, seditious preaching, treason and misprision of treason. One is led to ask why a good deal of all this did not go through the ordinary law courts. Perhaps plaintiffs hoped for speedier, better and cheaper justice. Audley and Cromwell were from time to time asked to act as arbitrators in one case being asked to settle a case between the dowager marchioness of Dorset and her son the marquess a few weeks before the lady became the chancellor's mother in law.<sup>(2)</sup>

Those who sought remedy from the council might or might not receive speedy justice. In the case of the unfortunate William Ashleigh delays were interminable. In 1532 or 1533 he petitioned the chancery for the examination of witnesses in a case pending in star chamber against those he claimed had wrongfully seized lands in

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(1) G.R.Elton The Tudor Revolution in Government p.135

(2) L.P.XIII.i.236, XIV.i.463,799

Devon and Cornwall which were his in right of his wife's marriage settlement. His trouble was that the offenders were "maintained" by chief justice Fitzjames, whom Ashleigh had vainly petitioned for eight years. Then in 1533 he complained to the king, to whom he was a groom of the chamber out of ordinary, and Cromwell and Audley had undertaken to settle the case. In 1538 he again petitioned the king that nothing had been done, his wife and children begged from door to door and that he himself was like to die of want.<sup>(1)</sup>

Besides his judicial work in council, star chamber and chancery, Audley frequently presided over special commissions for state trials.<sup>(2)</sup>

As chancellor and privy councillor he was also responsible for a great deal of administrative work. This included the ultimate oversight of the writing and sealing departments of the chancery, which were its original functions, the granting of denizations,<sup>(3)</sup> the regular assay of the silver coinage, known as the trial of the pix,<sup>(4)</sup> the drawing up, writing or printing and distribution of proclamations,<sup>(5)</sup> licences and commissions of all kinds,<sup>(6)</sup> and the fixing of wine prices and tithe rates.<sup>(7)</sup> He inspected the plate in the jewel house before Cromwell took it over,<sup>(8)</sup> took oaths to the succession<sup>(9)</sup> and assessed peers for subsidies.<sup>(10)</sup> With Cromwell he was responsible for the assessment of the

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- (1) P.R.O. Lists and Indexes VI. bundles 695 nos. 9, 10, XIII pp. 12-14, L.P. XIII. i. 1110. (2) See Chapter VIII. (3) L.P. VIII; 291(67), XVI; 726, 730, 1308(4). (4) L.P. VI; 197 VII; 1332, 1601(11), XI; 45, XII. i. 1150, XV; 791. (5) L.P. VIII; 147, IX; 209, 358, 963, XII; ii. 329, XIII. i. 879, XVI; 1019, XVIII. ii. 211. (6) L.P. XVI; 684, XVII; 660-1, 670, 882, ~~1125~~, VIII; 422, 592, 1042, IX; 358, 450, 487, XII. ii. 737, Addenda 941. (7) L.P. VII; 453(2), 1399, XII. ii. 1155, XV; 722. (8) L.P. V; 939, 1799. (9) L.P. VII; 391. (10) L.P. IX; 890, X; 635, XI; 375, XVII; 141. (

tenths of spiritualities, and notes on the Valor Ecclesiasticus show that he examined the returns personally.<sup>(1)</sup> This list is by no means exhaustive, and if we add to it the chancellor's other activities already mentioned, and remember that when parliament was sitting he had further heavy duties, we are left with a picture of a very busy official with a wide range of activity.

Others of our men had their parts to play in central administration, but not even Fitzwilliam's was as varied as the chancellor's, for all that he was at different times admiral and privy seal, and chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster as well. In 1519 he was among those charged to examine suspected persons in Southwark.<sup>(2)</sup> In 1524 Audley was suggested for and perhaps served on a similar body for the Strand.<sup>(3)</sup> Also in 1519 Fitzwilliam was among those who inspected the royal wardrobe in the Tower and examined its books,<sup>(4)</sup> and in 1541 he and Cheyne were on a commission which surveyed the ordnance in the Tower and searched among its records.<sup>(5)</sup> Cheyne was one of a privy council commission which was authorised to issue payment warrants under the king's stamp in 1545 and 1546, on account of the serious delay occasioned by waiting for the king's signature which resulted from the business arising from the French and Scottish wars.<sup>(6)</sup> He also served on a similar commission in 1549.<sup>(7)</sup> Browne was a commissioner for the sale of crown lands in 1545 and 1546.<sup>(8)</sup> He was also one of a strong body, headed by the lord chancellor and including the great master of the household (lord steward), Gardiner, the two secretaries of state, and Walter Mildmay as its own secretary,

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(1) Valor E. III pp.148,177, V p.245, L.P.IX;161,254,310, 450,700. (2) L.P.III;365(19). (3) L.P.IV;1082. (4) L.P.III;576. (5) L.P.XVI;508,517. (6) L.P.XX.i.125(9), 707(20), XXI.ii.332(43). (7) G.S.P. C.P.R.Edw.VI II. p.250. (8) L.P.XX.i.1081(50), XXI.i.970(19).

which was appointed in 1546 to clear up the affairs of the various revenue courts -exchequer, duchy of Lancaster, wards and liveries, augmentations, general surveyors, first fruits and tenths- and was the beginning of the process whereby William Paulet, who was the great master and ~~Walter~~ Mildmay were in time to restore order to the chaotic royal finances.<sup>(1)</sup> Under Northumberland in 1552, Cheyne was a member of an even more comprehensive commission, principally composed of leading councillors, and again guided by Mildmay, which enquired into the accounts of the exchequer, augmentations, chamber, first fruits and tenths, wards, duchy of Lancaster, Calais, Berwick, and all other treasurers, receivers, paymasters, surveyors, muster masters, purveyors, victuallers or any other person who had received royal money or supplies since 34 Henry VIII.<sup>(2)</sup>

The duchy of Lancaster was a royal estate with lands scattered across the realm and it was administered from London as a separate part of the crown property. Its chief officer was the chancellor, a post to which Fitzwilliam was appointed when the then holder, Thomas More, was made lord chancellor. Fitzwilliam's father and grandfather, and his great grandfather as well, had been constables of Tickhill, a duchy possession, the first receiving the office in 1461 as a reward for service to the Yorkist party.<sup>(3)</sup> As chancellor of the duchy Fitzwilliam dealt with a variety of matters great and small. He took possession of the defunct monastery of Daventry and saw to the replacement of the abbot of Walden.<sup>(4)</sup> He had trouble with a certain Sir Piers Dutton, who seized a

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(1) L.P.XXI.i.1166(71), G.R.Elton England Under the Tudors p.410. (2) C.P.R.Edw.VI IV p.391. (3) R.Somerville Duchy of Lancaster I p.529. (4) L.P.IV; 6263, 6377, VI; 48.

royal sturgeon taken in duchy waters, which should have been kept for the king's use,<sup>(1)</sup> and who some years later was the subject of complaint from the duchy attorney in Halton honour, to the effect that as deputy steward he had been interfering in the honour's courts.<sup>(2)</sup> Sir Piers was ultimately outlawed for his excesses when sheriff.<sup>(3)</sup> There was riotous protest against enclosure of Rothwell park, by the local Yorkshiremen, who pulled down the fences and threatened to do so again when Lord Darcy had them set up. A chancellor's commission of enquiry was appointed under the duchy seal to deal with the affair.<sup>(4)</sup> At the general dissolution of the monasteries it was agreed with the new court of augmentations that the duchy should confine itself to the county of Lancaster itself, leaving monasteries on other duchy lands to the augmentations.<sup>(5)</sup> The chancellor also had to deal with riotous hunting in Aldbourn chase,<sup>(6)</sup> and to punish the town of Poston in Bedfordshire on the orders of the privy council because it had disobeyed the clerk of the market, alleging it was protected by duchy privilege.<sup>(7)</sup> He also secured a decree for the commoners of Enfield chase, regulating the use of the common.<sup>(8)</sup>

In 1535 Fitzwilliam was granted reversion of the duchy offices of constable of Pontefract castle and steward of the honour. When the holder, Lord Darcy, was executed early in 1537 Fitzwilliam succeeded, but surrendered the office in November of the same year.<sup>(9)</sup>

Audley was attorney general of the duchy from 1526 to 1531, his appointment ending at the same time as he became serjeant at law.<sup>(10)</sup> From 1540 until his death he

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(1) L.P.V;316. (2) L.P.XIII.i.1114. (3) R.Somerville Duchy of Lancaster I.p.511. (4) L.P.VI;355, Addenda 782-3, 796, 840-1. (5) G.R.Elton Tudor Revolution in Government pp.209-10. (6) L.P.Addenda 1257. (7) L.P.XVI;1278. (8) L.P.XVII;15. (9) Somerville Duchy of Lancaster I.pp.515-6. (10) Somerville Duchy of Lancaster I.p. 407, W.Dugdale Origines Juridicales p.83, L.P.V;559(17).



had some minor duchy offices which had been Cromwell's.<sup>(1)</sup>

Anthony Browne held a number of duchy of Lancaster offices granted to him on the attainder of their previous holders, Nicholas Carew and Thomas Culpeper.<sup>(2)</sup> Cheyne had one duchy office, which came to him when William Carey died of the sweat in 1528.<sup>(3)</sup>

From 1536 until 1540 Fitzwilliam was admiral of England. It never fell to his lot to command the fleet in war during this time, but there was plenty of other work attaching to the post. The rights of admiralty were not uniform, other authorities having rights over some sections of coast and coastal waters. In maritime matters affecting the Cinque ports reference had to be made to the lord warden, Thomas Cheyne, as was done in 1537 when the town of Rye was supplying food to Flemish pirates.<sup>(4)</sup> Sometimes admiralty rights were in dispute, and there had to be a settlement between Fitzwilliam and the town of Hull.<sup>(5)</sup> The earl of Derby claimed certain maritime rights as inheritance from his ancestors as lords of Man.<sup>(6)</sup> The matter of piracy constantly recurs. Breton and other French ships preyed on shipping from Bristol and around the coasts of Cornwall and Wales<sup>(7)</sup> and Fitzwilliam's privately owned vessels were sometimes attacked. Perhaps most of these pirate vessels were small and quite unlike the buccaneers of later romance, while their plunder could be singularly unglamorous. A ship of forty tuns put into Newport, Isle of Wight, with a cargo of Iceland fish, which was judged to be stolen, presumably because she was not of a deep sea fishing pattern. The admiral ordered his officers further west, whither

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(1) R. Somerville Duchy of Lancaster I. pp. 604-6.

(2) Somerville pp. 615, 617, 621. (3) Somerville p. 606.

(4) L.P. XII. i. 528. (5) L.P. XVI; 1237. (6) L.P. XIII. i. 1027.

(7) L.P. XII. ii. 208, 613, XIV. i. 758

it had gone, to arrest it.<sup>(1)</sup> On occasion the impudence of these freebooters was noteworthy. In 1538 four French craft of two tuns apiece seized an "aragosey" (ship of Ragusa) actually in English waters in Spithead.<sup>(2)</sup> We have already noted the Flemish pirates who lay in the Camber.

Reports from local magnates as well as from his own officers came to the admiral for his attention. The earl of Worcester wrote from Chepstow on the Wye, and Fitzwilliam's own men from Whitby, Portsmouth and Cornwall.<sup>(3)</sup> Sometimes his officers were a little over prompt in the seizure of salvaged goods.<sup>(4)</sup> As admiral, he had a court and in 1537, assisted by other justices, he tried at the Guildhall for piracy eleven men, probably the same who in the next month received royal pardon for piracy on Scots ships in time of peace.<sup>(5)</sup> This may have been a special commission, for the admiralty court was normally conducted by a president appointed by the admiral.

There were times when his admiral's duties became involved with diplomacy. In 1537 the French ambassador was complaining that French vessels seized by English ships had not been released inspite of promises from Cromwell and the admiral<sup>(6)</sup> while next year Fitzwilliam was asking Cromwell to get letters to the admiral of Brittany for redress for an Englishman twice robbed by Bretons.<sup>(7)</sup> The business of the Sieur de Rochepot comes up repeatedly in the records after 1537, when three of his ships took a Hamburg vessel off the Flanders coast and went towards Scotland, but were forced into Whitby en route. Rochepot was brother to the high French official Montmorency, and as a result he was able to make very

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(1) L.P.XIII.ii.51,344. (2) L.P.XIII.i.485. (3) L.P.XII.ii.301,1006,XIII.i.485,826,XIV.ii.113 (4) L.P.XII.i.74. (5) L.P.XII.i.1132, (6) ii.191(27). (6) L.P.XII.ii.670-1,680.  
(7) L.P.XIII.ii.344

audible complaint.<sup>(1)</sup> There was also the matter of the nervous French ambassador who wanted an escort across the Channel when his country was at war with Charles V.<sup>(2)</sup>

The admiral was also concerned in the impressment of English and foreign vessels when the navy needed them.<sup>(3)</sup> The purchase of sailcloths and other stores and the oversight of the construction of royal ships were his task.<sup>(4)</sup>

In 1536 Thomas Cheyne was appointed to the ancient office of warden of the Cinque ports. The sphere of its operations was from Sandwich in Kent to Hastings in Sussex and it was a post of dignity, the holder being "my lord warden". It was now more judicial than military, but Cheyne was responsible for a good deal of defence work during his twenty odd years of tenure.<sup>(5)</sup> The warden was responsible to the king through the chief minister or the council, and the ports were responsible to him through their bailiffs or mayors. He had the mayor of Rye arrested and put in Dover castle for disobedience, and in 1557 the mayor and chief men of Sandwich were commanded to appear before the privy council and report daily thereafter to one of its clerks until further notice, concerning a letter they had sent to the lord warden.<sup>(6)</sup> The original rising middle class, the bourgeoisie, had not by this time risen very far when its representative could be so handled. The warden also had to keep the peace between his officers, investigating a quarrel between the captain of Walmer castle and his deputy. Walmer was one of the new castles under the warden's command.<sup>(7)</sup>

He was also concerned with the maintenance of dykes and waterways, the cutting of weeds and repair of groyne

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(1) L.P. XIV. i. 1316, ii. 1179. (2) L.P. XI; 1129. (3) L.P. XIV. i. 400, 700. (4) L.P. XV; 313, 317, 325. (5) See Chapter X.  
 (6) L.P. XII. i. 748, XIII. i. 206, 513, 693, XIV. i. 1073, ii. 546.  
 III. p. 1. L.P. C. IV; p. 127.

and with controls at the ports, such as the stopping of exports of lead and of the illegal export of wheat and malt, and the partial stoppage of horse exports.<sup>(1)</sup> At times exit would be barred to all who had not got passports.<sup>(2)</sup>

The lord warden's position inevitably involved much dealing with foreign ships, seamen and merchants, and their relations with English counterparts. Sporadic fighting in the Channel between the French, and the Flemish and Spanish subjects of Charles V, and raids by both sides on English ships, raised problems for him.<sup>(3)</sup> Flemish ships lay in the Camber, supplied with food from Rye, and preyed on English ships coming up Channel with fruit and Gascon wine.<sup>(4)</sup> Foreign vessels suspected of offences were arrested, Frenchmen bringing in counterfeit coin were seized<sup>(5)</sup> and a "French brigandine that searcheth the coasts" was stopped.<sup>(6)</sup> In 1538 a Frenchman was arrested in Dover for saying to some Picard fishermen "the king of England hath pulled down all the abbeys in England and he will pull down all the parish churches also" and going on to declare that twenty cart loads of gold and silver had been taken to London from the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury. The incident illustrates the minute detail with which Tudor ministers were prone to burden themselves, especially if public unrest might ensue, for Cheyne reported the matter to Cromwell. Yet he seems to have sensed the lack of proportion involved. "The matter is so high that I trouble your lordship therewith, though, I think, of small effect".<sup>(7)</sup>

Herrings robbed from merchants of London were restored

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(1) L.P.XII.ii.136, C.S.P.Domestic 1547-80 p.5, A.P.C.IV p.135. (2) L.P.XVIII.1.602. (3) L.P.X;1078, XI;418,1364. (4) L.P.XII.1.528. (5) A.P.C.III p.118. (6) A.P.C.IV p.79. (7) L.P.XIII.1.693,701, XIV.1.1073.

to their rightful owners.<sup>(1)</sup> More often the boot was on the other foot and there were complaints from foreign shipmasters, sometimes backed up by their ambassadors. In 1541 the French ambassador secured the council's order to the lord warden for the release of a Dieppe man imprisoned by the men of Rye "although they had a letter of marque."<sup>(2)</sup> Complaints of depredations on the subjects of Charles V led to the warden being instructed to write to all places in his authority ordering the staying or recall of all "men of war adventurers". Similar orders went to other places.<sup>(3)</sup> French ships and French goods arrested and despoiled were the frequent subject of complaint<sup>(4)</sup> and in 1557 allegations from Flemings made against Rye led Cheyne to order the townsmen to appear in the admiral's court as the matter was outside his own jurisdiction.<sup>(5)</sup>

A particularly troublesome business was that of wrecks. Wreckage could be profitable, both to the lord warden, who had admiralty rights, and the local people. They were at times over eager to adjudge vessels, especially foreign ones, to be wrecks. The men of Sandwich seized a French cargo from a ship aground on the Goodwins and the merchants complained through the ambassador that it was no wreck "as no man therein miscarried." The council ordered Cheyne to hold the goods while it took legal advice.<sup>(6)</sup> He himself was commanded to restore certain Portuguese goods "unlawfully taken from a wreck" or show cause why he detained them.<sup>(7)</sup> His servant had a similar order in respect of some Spanish goods.<sup>(8)</sup> Even aid to distressed ships could cause trouble. The mayor

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(1) A.P.C.III.p.509. (2) L.P.XVI;632. (3) L.P.XXI.i.591, 605,946. (4) A.P.C.III.pp.221,248,497, IV pp.119,343. (5) A.P.C.VI.p.184, C.S.P.Domestic 1547-80 p.95. (6) L.P.XVII;175,209,214. (7) L.P.XVIII.i.883. (8) L.P.XX.i.732.

and jurats of Rye wrote to Cromwell explaining that six tuns of wine removed from a Flemish ship at the lord warden's command had been promised to them for their aid in saving the ship when she was in danger. Unfortunately for them, the Flemings' goods were the subject of a law-suit in the admiralty court, and they had to be handed over.<sup>(1)</sup> Matters of admiralty and wreck sometimes led the lord warden into dispute with the archbishop of Canterbury. In 1546 the council had to settle an argument between them.<sup>(2)</sup>

In 1555 Philip of Spain, Mary Tudor's consort, left England for the Netherlands to act as regent. In January of the next year his father abdicated and Philip became king of Spain. Mary continually hoped for his return, but it was hope as continually deferred. In June 1556 he was expected soon and in August the lord warden, who had already been warned to have Cinque ports ships ready to escort him, was advised that the king was shortly coming and told to have mariners ready at an hour's warning to go to Portsmouth to make up deficiencies in the queen's ships which were to bring him over. Next month Cheyne was told to be ready to attend on him and to send the mariner's to Portsmouth, but the warning was cancelled. In February 1557 he was again commanded to have Cinque ports ships ready. Soon after, when news of Philip's imminent arrival reached the queen, it was decided that there was no time to bring the royal ships from Portsmouth and he was told to provide the admiral with all possible assistance in fitting out such ships as could be got to Dover, even fishing vessels, to cross to Calais

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(1)L.P.XIII.i.513. (2)L.P.XXI.ii.396.

as escort. So pitifully low had ten years of neglect brought Henry VIII's fine fleet. In March 1557 Philip actually arrived.<sup>(1)</sup>

The Tudor courtiers, high as they might rise in the royal service, seem always to have maintained or built up local associations, socially, politically and administratively. They were expected to have and to use in the government's interest influence over their own parts of the country, especially in times of local unrest or national crisis. It was not always possible for them to act in person, since central government duties could keep them at the king's side or in London, but if there was trouble anywhere it was to them that the king looked to deal with it.

The basic local office was that of justice of the peace.<sup>(2)</sup> To this would be added all sorts of special commissions, some once only, others occurring at more or less regular intervals. To the commissions of the peace would occasionally be added oyer and terminer and gaol delivery. The ancient office of sheriff continued in use. Commissions of sewers were common, their work concerning not sanitation but rivers and natural drainage. There were bodies responsible for special collections of revenue such as subsidies, benevolences and contributions. In 1530 there were local commissions to deal with Wolsey's property and in 1535 the great work on "Tenths of Spiritualities" on which the "Valor Ecclesiasticus" was based. There were commissions for administering oaths to the Succession. Military functions were, from the later years of Henry VIII, exercised through the office of lord-

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(1) A.P.C.V pp.346,354,360, VI pp.52-3,56-7.

(2) Reference to the grants listed at the end of the documents for each month in L.P. will show many commissions of the peace.

lieutenant, commissions of array, of musters, and to search and defend coasts. The Tudor courtier, as a local bigwig, provided a very effective link between the central government and the shires, his influence and authority proceeding from his local offices and estates and also from the fact that he was the king's servant, especially if he was of the council.

Thomas Audley, a common lawyer, seems to have begun his career in his own county of Essex. A burgess of Colchester and town clerk,<sup>(1)</sup> he represented both borough and shire in parliament. From 1520 onwards he was on the commission of the peace. He sat on commissions of gaol delivery and subsidy, and on that which made enquiry concerning Wolsey's property in Essex.<sup>(2)</sup> The name of Thomas Audley also appears on a commission of sewers in Middlesex in 1529<sup>(3)</sup> and on one of the peace for Worcester-shire in 1531-2. His appointment as lord chancellor in 1533 placed him at the centre of affairs. His name now appeared at the head of every commission of the peace which he issued. His local activity did not therefore cease. He enquired for Tenths of Spiritualities in Essex and Colchester and was entrusted with the searching and defence of part of the Thames and Essex coast in the invasion scare of 1539, although somebody else did the work.<sup>(4)</sup> We know from his letters to Cromwell that he kept a careful eye on his county whenever he visited his several houses there.<sup>(5)</sup>

Since Anthony Denny's career at court was largely one of personal attendance on Henry VIII his local work was of necessity limited. Hailing from Cheshunt in Herts, he

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(1) W.G.Benham The Oath Book or Red Parchment Book of Colchester p.147, W.G.Benham The Red Paper Book of Colchester p.26. (2) L.P.III;1081(14), p.1367, 3504. IV;6490(20), 6516, p.236. (3) L.P.IV;5336(11). (4) L.P.XIV.i.398. (5) L.P.IX;358.



was on a commission of sewers for the county in 1540 but does not appear as a J.P., for Herts and for Essex, until the reign of Edward VI.<sup>(1)</sup> He also sat in parliament for Herts under that king.

The Guildford borough records show William Fitzwilliam (with Thomas Parr) holding the court leet in 1515.<sup>(2)</sup> In the previous year his name first appears among the justices for Surrey. In 1518 he was also on the commission for Kent, an isolated instance whose meaning is not clear. He continued on the Surrey list throughout his life, but from 1530 onwards he was justice for a large number of counties, (in fact all those in England save four, and the palatinates of Lancaster and Durham). In 1540 he was on a commission of the peace for the lands of the former abbeys of Peterborough and St. Alban's, and at some unspecified date was on a commission for the whole of the north, probably issued after the rising of 1536. The beginning of these widespread appointments in 1530 may be connected with ~~his~~ the fact that from 1529 he was chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, for the duchy estates spread across England. In his later years his name would in any case have appeared on many lists for he was one of the leading privy councillors and it was the custom for such to be appointed in many localities. He also was on commissions of gaol delivery for Guildford castle,<sup>(3)</sup> sat in parliament for Surrey, and took an active part in exerting government influence in elections to parliament in Surrey, Sussex and Hants, all counties in which he had lands.<sup>(4)</sup>

He was among those commissioned to receive oaths to the succession in Sussex, and to assess the Tenths of

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(1) L.P. XVI; 379(7), C.P.R. Edw. VI I p. 83. (2) Surrey Record Society XXIV. (3) L.P. IV; 6490, V; 220.

(4) See Chapter VI.

Spiritualities in Surrey. A letter from Fitzwilliam to Cromwell in 1535 shows him at work and indicates that such commissions were in composition more or less the same as those of the peace. "I and my fellow justices of the peace for the shire of Surrey have been sitting for the assessment of the spiritualities of the shire and we have so handled the matter that I doubt not a much larger sum shall be raised than when the spirituality was assessed by the bishop. We have done nothing with the abbeys and priories, because Masters Weston and Danaster informed us that you had appointed two of your auditors for that purpose. Now we are told that your auditors will only meddle with Martyn abbey, St. Mary Overy's, Bermondsey and the Spital in Southwark. Let us know what we are to do .."(1)

In 1534 Fitzwilliam was a commissioner for sewers in Surrey and another letter to Cromwell shows the method of procedure. "This day I with other commissioners for sewers met at the town of Guildford. We have appointed that ten of the commission shall view the river down to the Thames, and make report within fourteen days."(2) He was also a commissioner for enquiry into Wolsey's lands in Surrey.(3)

When the pilgrimage of grace of 1536 began, Fitzwilliam was at Guildford, and he at once took the lead in raising forces for its suppression. In March 1538, on his way once more to his Guildford home, he spent a short time with a Surrey neighbour who told him of a report that the people were being alarmed by a rumour of "horn money", a tax to be levied on horned beasts. Fitzwilliam

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(1) L.P. VIII; 4, 149(74). (2) L.P. VII; 760, 1498(22).

(3) L.P. VI; 6513.

knew that "the sowing of such tales was the cause of the last insurrection" and he took prompt action, summoning those concerned, tracing the story back through five tellings and badly scaring some of the tellers in the process as a warning to themselves and the whole neighbourhood, deciding who was the culprit and sending him to Cromwell, with whom he had kept in touch by writing at each step. Cromwell sent the man back to Fitzwilliam for "further ordering".<sup>(1)</sup>

A further instance of Fitzwilliam, a privy councillor and a local magnate, dealing with a potentially dangerous situation, comes from the latter end of the same year 1538. He was at Cowdray, his Sussex house, when a poor man approached with the complaint that his wife had been put in prison by Gunter, a local J.P., for saying that Sir Geoffrey Pole, had he not been arrested, would have sent a band of men overseas to his brother, cardinal Reginald Pole. Gunter was sent for and questioned with the woman and her daughter. The story about Pole seemed to have its source in a former servant of Gunter's and when Fitzwilliam learned that this man was not in custody he rounded on the J.P. for his negligence and reduced him to tears. He reported to Cromwell, enclosing statements he had taken and kept both parties in custody. The servant was soon arrested and questioned and not being able to clear himself was put in the gate house at Cowdray, while Fitzwilliam reported to Cromwell that the woman need not be detained, while Gunter repented of his carelessness and meant no harm.<sup>(2)</sup>

The unfortunate Gunter reappears in another incident two years later. Fitzwilliam was at Cowdray in 1540 when

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(1)L.P.XIII.1.392,440,475,500. (2)L.P.XIII.ii.392-3.

Gunter's wife came to him, complaining that Sir Geoffrey Pole had summoned her husband to him, quarrelled with him and wounded him in the head. Just then Pole and his wife and daughter arrived at Cowdray to pay his respects. Fitzwilliam questioned him and he admitted what was alleged, saying that a servant of Gunter's had "railed" at him and that when he had been in the Tower, during the crushing of the Exeter conspiracy, Gunter had given information against him. Fitzwilliam, who now had no Cromwell from whom to seek the "king's will", wrote to Henry. How, he asked, was Pole to be dealt with? The offence was serious but the man was sick and half mad. He had not committed him to prison for that might make his mental disorder worse. He could not take sureties for none would stand for him. If Henry wished it he could probably persuade Gunter to let the matter be glossed over. The privy council was told to deal with the business, and it ordered that the maximum publicity was to be used and Pole committed to prison in the presence of the bench of justices and the gentry of the shire. This was thought to be sufficient example and after fourteen days his release was ordered on condition that he was reconciled to Gunter and did not come to the king's court.<sup>(1)</sup>

Record of these events has probably survived because they all in some measure involved high policy. But they are in themselves revealing. We see the high official in his own locality (localities in Fitzwilliam's case), approached for justice by a poor man aggrieved by a local magistrate, showing a knowledge of his neighbours that

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(1) L.P. XVI; 19, 32.

extended to their servants, placing persons in custody in his own house, taking a strong line with a J.P., in fact treating him very much as an inferior, and always acting with promptness and vigour.

In a last incident we find Fitzwilliam, at the time admiral, acting with similar energy to uphold the law and his master's authority. In March 1539 he was on a tour of inspection of the defences of Southampton Water and the Isle of Wight, accompanied by Lord St. John. A Spanish vessel passed them under full sail and anchored off Newport Road, where a fishing vessel made towards her and the Spaniard put out a boat and "Took her aboard." Suspecting the smuggling of goods or prohibited books, or perhaps the receiving of stolen grain, Fitzwilliam and St. John turned their boats towards her. The fishing boat made off and the Spaniard slipped her cable and made sail, but lacked sufficient wind. "We divided our boats coming nearer, making countenance that they should yield, but they proudly manned their top, as who should say, 'come and you dare!' This stirred my choler something, and although it was rather dangerous to go on, (for the Spaniard had ordnance and we were in three ships boats with only two or three handguns) our men's stomachs were good, and it was now too nigh to go back. At length, when we were even at hand, she struck her sails." They boarded and took her into Newport Road. Fitzwilliam then continued his work of inspection, and after supper examined the Spaniards and the Southampton men found with them. The ship had brought iron from San Sebastian and was taking out wheat. There seems to have been little  
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was irregular, beyond the taking out of more English money than was allowed, but the admiral made some show of telling them that they had forfeited ship, money and goods, and considering the cruelties of the Spaniards to the English in the last war they were little entitled to mercy, but would always get it if they obeyed the laws. If they did not, whatever was reported in Spain about English disunity, "they should find us head and feet agreeing together, and every man, both prince, nobleman and commoner, ready and quick enough to defend our said sovereign and his realm if they attempted to molest or invade the same". He invited them to report his words at home, and having struck his propaganda blow in the "cold war", let them go after payment of part of their cargo as a fine.<sup>(1)</sup>

Anthony Browne retained strong connections with his ancestral Surrey even after the grant of Battle abbey and other lands in Sussex had made it his chief county. He represented Surrey in parliament, was on the commission of the peace from 1532 and in 1534 a commissioner of oyer and terminer.<sup>(2)</sup> In 1535 he assessed the spiritualities<sup>(3)</sup> and was on a commission of sewers in 1536.<sup>(4)</sup> At some unspecified date he was on a commission for a benevolence in Surrey. This may have been in 1545 when heavy war expenses forced the government to this barely legal expedient. Browne was sent to exact contributions and found to his surprise that the people paid most willingly and handsomely, although the area allotted to him was a barren one.<sup>(5)</sup> Perhaps this unusual experience was the reason why Charles V's ambassador soon after found

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(1)L.P.XIV.1.573. (2)L.P.XX.1.622. (3)L.P.VIII;149(74).  
 (4)L.P.XI;461. (5)L.P.XX.1.85, p.325.

him "immoderately inclined to exalt his master's wealth".<sup>(1)</sup> In May 1545 Browne was one of four councillors and Garter knights who were given a commission of array over a wide area - Surrey, Sussex, Hants, Wilts, Oxfordshire and Berks.<sup>(2)</sup> He was on the Sussex panel of justices of the peace from 1543 and a commissioner of sewers for the Sussex coast in 1539.<sup>(3)</sup>

Thomas Cheyne represented Kent in parliament almost continuously from 1539 until 1558, was sheriff in 1519<sup>(4)</sup> and a J.P. from 1526. He had a great variety of commissions in his county, - oyer and terminer, array, musters levying of troops, search and defence of coasts, against pirates, for sewers, subsidy, benevolence, relief, contribution, heresy, tenths of spiritualities, survey of chantries, survey of church goods, and the like. Under Edward VI he was lord lieutenant. When Somerset's government wished to secure the election of a man of its own choice as a shire knight it was Cheyne who was told to recommend him to the electors.<sup>(5)</sup>

A number of incidents show Cheyne at work in his county. In 1533 and 1534 he reported on two cases to Cromwell. In the first, three sailors, two of them foreigners, had "broken up" the gate of Queenborough castle of which Cheyne was constable. They were arrested and he committed them to the mayor for custody. They escaped to a fishing vessel from which the mayor and aldermen recovered them in face of resistance from its master. Cheyne arrested both master and ship and waited for

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(1) L.P.XX.i.261. (2) L.P.XX.i.846. (3) L.P.XIV.i.1192.

(4) L.P.II;1120. (5) Rolls of Parliament - appendix to Lords' Journals I., L.P.III.p.1363, IV.p.235, VIII; 149(40), XIV.i.398, XV;436(92), XX.i.p.325,846, XXI.i.91, ~~p.130~~, 970(32), C.P.R.Edw.VI IV.p.393, V.pp.351, 414, C.P.R.Ph.& Mary III.p.24, A.P.C.II.p.119, III.pp.257-8, IV.pp.49,130,276. Historical Manuscripts Report IV.p.511 a., J.Strype Life of Archbishop Whitgift III.p.352.

Cromwell's orders ("the king's pleasure"). As a post-script he added that the poor men suffered greatly from the cold in their prison.<sup>(1)</sup> The offence sounds more like a drunken escapade than anything else, although made more serious than it might have been by the escape. Nevertheless it was referred to the central government for a decision.

In the second instance smuggling was involved, the more common sixteenth century variety, which involved smuggling out rather than in. Cheyne arrested a Flemish ship for carrying out uncustomed cloth. He reported to Cromwell, and said that the cloth, which he presumed would be forfeit, belonged to the mayor of Faversham, "who is but a poor man".<sup>(2)</sup> Once again he tried to ease the lot of the wrongdoers by putting in a word in high quarters.

During the year after Wyatt's rebellion Cheyne was particularly busy in Kent, where the rising had begun. He suppressed crime, punished sedition and kept an eye on French naval preparations through the mariners of Rye.<sup>(3)</sup> He was thanked for the council for his diligence, and in June 1555 it instructed him, with other Kent notables, to enquire into commotions, punish vagabonds and to suffer no "May games" (sic), because they occasioned disorder.<sup>(4)</sup>

John Wallop's county was Hampshire, but although he had there deep ancestral roots, he did not play the leading part that others of our men did in their shires. He was a commissioner for the loan in 1522-3<sup>(5)</sup> a justice of the peace in 1538 and of oyer and terminer in

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(1) L.P. VI; 44. (2) L.P. VII; 1480. (3) A.P.C. V.p. 76.

(4) A.P.C. V.pp. 78, 151, 153, VI.pp. 21, 38. (5) L.P. III; 3492.



1540. He was, seemingly rather oddly for an established landowner, a burgess of Southampton in 1527.<sup>(1)</sup> In 1538 he was on the sheriff roll for Devon, where he had monastic land, but was not pricked.<sup>(2)</sup> He had strong connections with Calais, holding office there as marshal, lieutenant of the castle, and as captain of Guisnes, in succession between 1524 and his death in 1551. During this period he served on various special bodies in Calais and its pale - commissions of sewers, survey, tenths of spiritualities, church bells, and delimitation of frontiers.<sup>(3)</sup>

It was not only in his own locality that the Tudor royal servant was expected to be on the alert and to give service. We have seen Fitzwilliam, the admiral, dealing with a matter admittedly maritime but incidental to the duty upon which he was at the time engaged. In 1535, on his way to Calais, he found a number of matters at Dover which demanded his attention. The most important was a strike among the labourers on the royal improvements to the harbour. The men were demanding sixpence a day, had named one among them to be their "lord" and avowed that he who touched one of them touched all. Fitzwilliam identified the ringleaders, committed two to Dover castle and two, who were repentant, to the mayor's prison. He then referred the matter to Cromwell. He also examined and approved the harbour works. "Certain naughty persons" had erased the French royal arms from a chapel built by a former French ambassador, and Fitzwilliam had to pacify the French friar in charge and have search made for the culprits. He also reported

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(1) Historical Manuscripts Commission XI.pt.3.p.20.

(2) L.P.XIII.ii.967(26). (3) L.P.IV;p.2228, V;1705, VIII;149(35), C.S.P.Foreign 1547-80 pp.10,329. A.P.C.III.p.82.

on the quality of the local grain and advised Cromwell to prohibit its movement as certain London merchants had "cornered the market" and there would otherwise be a rise in prices and difficulty in supplying the workmen at Dover.<sup>(1)</sup> At Calais two assorted pieces of business claimed his attention, besides the work he had been sent to do. Merchants reported stories so slanderous concerning the "malicious intent of the bishop of Rome", and of a "lewd friar openly in the pulpit at Antwerp" that he commanded them to repeat them only to Cromwell in person.<sup>(2)</sup> The second matter was of Owen, a rich Welshman who had written to a Welsh spear at Calais for news of a third Welshman, an exile. The spear revealed this to Fitzwilliam and suggested that he be used to visit the exile and find out what he knew, and recommending that Owen be arrested, which was done.<sup>(3)</sup>

Fitzwilliam had taken prompt action against unrest among the Dover workmen. Wallop also had labour troubles. He reported to the king that the workmen on the Calais fortifications loitered in groups, the clerks being absent from their duties. He recommended that the council at Calais should oversee the work and that two or three men at arms should be always on duty.<sup>(4)</sup> More serious trouble at Calais had led to a "mutineer" among the workmen being tried at Guisnes by a special commission to Wallop and two others, which sat in the market place on market day, the man being hanged outside the town that afternoon. This fearful example, ordered by the king before the trial, was effective, "since when the labourers have done their duty more quietly".<sup>(5)</sup>

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(1)L.P.IX;110,142. (2)L.P.IX;263. (3)L.P.IX;319.

(4)L.P.XVII;381. (5)L.P.XVI;917,986.

Later, he found unrest among the workmen on the Guisnes fortifications, principally over pay. He wrote that he hoped to handle them with fair words "unless it be some particular lewd fellow ... who shall have his deserts".<sup>(1)</sup>

Wallop also had the case of Anthony Huchetson, an old soldier at Guisnes, reputed honest but intemperate. Two witnesses testified that they were drinking wine at a house in Guisnes when Huchetson came in drunk, asked to drink a glass with them, and complained that his leave home had been stopped. One of his hearers said that the next time he spoke with the king he would desire that it be granted. The sarcasm was lost on Huchetson, who answered, "Hang the king and them that made the way" (leave). The witness then said that he ought to be hanged for speaking such words. Huchetson asked, what words? He then fell down and went to sleep. For this triviality he spent three months in prison while Wallop twice asked the privy council for a decision on the case. The words were treasonous and it was only his drunkenness when he uttered them that saved him from worse.<sup>(2)</sup>

Fitzwilliam, like Wallop, had long and close connection with Calais, holding office at Guisnes from 1523 to 1526 and at Calais from 1526 to 1530. He seems to have become the council expert on Calais affairs, complaining in 1537 that he had more to do with them than with all England. This was during the period when his friend, Arthur Plantagenet, viscount Lisle, was deputy at Calais and Fitzwilliam spent much time and effort in advising, warning and perhaps shielding this not very competent administrator.<sup>(3)</sup> Fitzwilliam apparently served on the

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(1)L.P.XVII;572. (2)L.P.XVII;627,782,1082. (3)L.P.  
XII.i.1039.

commission of 1529 which drew up ordinances for the town and county of Calais.<sup>(1)</sup> By 1535 the work needed to be done again, and Fitzwilliam headed a commission which was given wide powers to investigate and reform the defence of Calais and its marches. They worked hard from mid-August until late September, finding much disorder and neglect. Fitzwilliam asked Cromwell to be lenient to those found culpable and did his best for Lisle reporting on him in as favourable terms as he could.<sup>(2)</sup> In 1541 Fitzwilliam and Russell, who at that time were often working together, were sent on a tour of inspection of the Calais and Guisnes fortifications and to tighten discipline in the garrisons. They had a look at the works at Dover as they passed through, inspected the musters at Calais and early in May were at Guisnes, where Wallop was newly appointed captain.<sup>(3)</sup> They expressed satisfaction with the state of the castle, which they considered fit to withstand emperor and king of France together, and when the additions were complete, it could defy the Turk himself.<sup>(4)</sup>

Fitzwilliam's half brother, Anthony Browne, appears to have been one of the council's experts on the northern marches, although his personal experience there was not very lengthy. After the 1536 rising, steps were taken to establish the royal authority in the north on a firmer basis. Norfolk was appointed king's lieutenant to restore order. Since the northern marches, especially Tynedale and Redesdale, were especially chaotic, instead of entrusting the wardenship to some local noble, the king took it into his own hands and, following Norfolk's

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(1) L.P. IV; 5247 (2) L.P. IX; 142, 192, 255, 263, 319, 440, 535, 766, X; 438. (3) L.P. XVI; 761-2, 769, 785, 793, 820-1, 795, 808-9, 820-1. (4) L.P. XVI; 809-10, 813, 835.

advice, appointed non-noble deputies to act for him, with all the gentlemen and headmen of the two dales as paid assistants. Browne was sent north with these instructions and to administer the oath of allegiance to the deputies and assistants, to report on the state of loyalty in the Marches, to warn them against raiding into Scotland, to see that the dales made restitution for the damage they had done to their fellow Englishmen in Northumberland, to urge that private feuds be discontinued and to induce the gentry to live more in the heart of the troublesome area than they were accustomed to do.<sup>(1)</sup> In other words, Browne was to alter fundamentally the character and habits of the borderland. It was scarcely to be expected that he would succeed single handed and at once, but his visit to the north in the early part of 1537 was part of a process of pacification which had as its most significant feature the establishment of a permanent council in the summer of that year.

Browne reached Berwick in February and sent for the border gentlemen who were to be enrolled as assistants. All came in save six, and he was advised that they were criminals who feared arrest. He found much disorder of the kind which he had been sent to check, with the Northumberland gentry engaged in deadly feuds among themselves and all of them thirsty for revenge on Tyndale and Redesdale, who had "spoiled them so sore that many are weary of their lives". He administered oaths, delivered patents and urged harmony. He hoped to get pledges and redress from the dales, but the problem was not an easy one. At the end of a month Redesdale had put

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(1) L.P. XII. i. 225, 291, 293, 319, 320, 332, Addenda 1186.

in sufficient pledges but Tynedale had only just been brought to agree to do so. Browne then returned to Newcastle, where he had other work to do. On the appointed day for receiving pledges the keeper of Tynedale was murdered by three enemies. Browne waited, but no general unrest followed, so he returned home.<sup>(1)</sup>

It was probably in consequence of this visit that Browne was subsequently among those consulted when matters concerning the north came before the council. In 1538 Sir Thomas Clifford, the captain of Berwick, wrote to Fitzwilliam and Browne, as well as to Cromwell, asking to be relieved of his office.<sup>(2)</sup> In this case Fitzwilliam and Browne were probably approached for family reasons, for Clifford was husband to Browne's sister and brother to Fitzwilliam's wife. Twice in 1541 and once in 1543 Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe, deputy warden of the middle march, wrote reports to Browne on the state of the country,<sup>(3)</sup> and it was to Browne that Sir William Musgrave, who had been present at the Scottish rout at Solway Moss, wrote what he probably hoped was the first news, trusting that Browne would declare these pleasant tidings to the king and take in good part "this his first knowledge of them". It was characteristic of the times that Musgrave in the same letter sought Browne's aid in obtaining for his brother or cousin a pension<sup>(4)</sup> held by one of the very few English dead in the battle. In 1542-4 Browne had in his service the son of Sir Thomas Wharton, captain of Carlise and deputy warden of the west march.<sup>(5)</sup> In 1542, after the brief English expedition into Scotland under Norfolk, the duke and

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(1) L.P.XII.i.351,362,478,552-3,596,614,651. (2) L.P.XIII ii.Appendix 37. (3) L.P.XVI;484,1054, XVIII.i.162.  
 (4) L.P.XVII;1121. (5) L.P.XVII;1052, XVIII.i.843, XVIII. ii. 332, XIX.i.562.

Browne, who was one of his lieutenants, were ordered to inspect the garrisons on the border and "reform the offenders of Northumberland". It was probably thought that, having a comparatively large force of troops to hand, the time was advantageous for such an action.<sup>(1)</sup>

The noble Scots taken prisoner at Solway Moss were brought to London and sent to courtiers' houses to be regaled and made much of. In this effort to create an anglophil party in Scotland, Browne was made host to the warden of the Scottish west march, Lord Maxwell.<sup>(2)</sup> The following year, when another attack on Scotland was contemplated, Browne was sent north to press, presumably by correspondence, for the Douglas family to give the support which they had promised. Lord Maxwell's mother was a Douglas and his daughter married Lord Angus, so Browne's hospitality in the previous year gave him some claim to the family's friendship. In the end, no attack was launched.<sup>(3)</sup>

The Tudor courtier and royal servant was an important instrument for keeping the king's peace. But the king's men could on occasion themselves prove disturbers of his peace by their quarrelsomeness and arrogance. We have seen that Sir Piers Dutton, an officer of the duchy of Lancaster and a sheriff, caused trouble in both capacities. In 1537 Sir John Allen, lord mayor of London complained to Cromwell that Thomas Cheyne had destroyed his cattle and beaten his servants, caring nothing for Audley's writs or Cromwell's letters.<sup>(4)</sup> We have only Allen's complaint and not Cheyne's version, but it is hard to imagine that the case was without some foundation in fact. In the same year another complainant wrote

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(1) L.P. XVII; 996, 1025, 1028, 1036-7, 1051, 1057, 1077.

(2) E. Herbert The Life and Reign of King Henry the Eighth pp. 485-6. (3) L.P. XVIII. ii. 11, 217, 220, 244, 262-3.

(4) L.P. XII. i. 250.

to Cromwell that John Wallop was forcing his chaplain into the cure of Over Wallop and threatening to cut off the ears of those who resisted.<sup>(1)</sup>

Cheyne and Wallop are the only ones among our men who showed a generally quarrelsome disposition. Cheyne fell out with Russell when they were both in the privy chamber and Henry intervened sharply. He quarrelled with his son and with his comptroller at Dover, both of whom made to the privy council allegations which they could not prove.<sup>(2)</sup> In 1545 the council ordered a minstrel who slandered Cheyne to be put in the pillory.<sup>(3)</sup> Wallop fell out with his brother officers at Guisnes on at least two occasions; in 1542 with the bailiff, Henry Palmer, on some trivial account, and the council ordered a public reconciliation; the king "would suffer no man to give unfitting language to his meanest groom, and has planted Mr. Palmer in a gentleman's room, who is a gentleman born although a younger brother", as Wallop himself once was.<sup>(4)</sup> In 1545 he quarrelled with Lord Grey, and the earl of Hertford was told to reconcile them.<sup>(5)</sup> It is to be noted that the king insisted that his servants be not openly at variance. Public order was so vital a concern of Tudor government that a good example must be set. It was the old problem of watching the watchdogs to see that they behaved themselves.

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(1) L.P. XII. ii. 1109. (2) L.P. XIII. i. 18. (3) ~~A.P.C. I.~~  
 (3) ~~L.P. XX. i. 1083, A.P.C. I. pp. 205, 208.~~ (4) L.P. XVII; 916.  
 (5) L.P. XX. i. 121.



## Chapter VIII    The King's Anger

"Ira principis mors est." The Tudor age was an age of state trials and is notorious for its political executions. To stand in the path of the royal will could, and for many did, mean death. Such executions were rarely summary, even when the realm was torn by rebellion. There was a proper form of trial to be gone through in open court. At its most drastic the king's anger operated through act of attainder without trial, a process whose invention is attributed to Thomas Cromwell. A finale on Tower Hill or at Tyburn therefore entailed a good deal of preliminary work, much of it dirty, and in this the king's servants had to take part.

When the duke of Buckingham was destroyed in 1521, Thomas Cheyne was on the jury which found an indictment against him at East Greenwich.<sup>(1)</sup> Such juries of presentment were normally held at all the places where alleged offences had taken place. It might be thought that the presence of a royal servant of some years standing on such a jury is evidence of packing, but the manor of East Greenwich was in fact the palace of Placentia and its inhabitants inevitably in the king's service. The trial proper was usually conducted under special commission of oyer and terminer.

During his tenure of the chancellorship Audley commonly headed such commissions, but not those to try peers until his own elevation to the peerage. His most famous case is that of Sir Thomas More, which has drawn upon him the contempt of posterity. Such contempt cannot

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(1)L.P.III;p.493.

have been entirely unearned, but it is less than fair to judge Audley by the standards of men like More himself and not those to be more generally found in his day and our own. More was killed because his tacit condemnation of Henry's divorce hurt the king's unique egoism beyond bearing, and it hurt because in his heart of hearts he knew the real greatness of More's character. Audley may have been only his "poor tool", but it would have taken a More to be otherwise in the circumstances.

For Audley the matter began in November 1533, when all the principal judges and many prelates and nobles were engaged for three long days in examining Elizabeth Barton, the "Nun of Kent", whose prophesyings had taken a political turn to the extent of denouncing the king's treatment of his wife to his face. At the end of the examination Audley addressed a public audience drawn from all parts of the kingdom on the Nun's iniquities and the king's virtues.<sup>(1)</sup> When a bill of attainder against the Nun and her accomplices was introduced early in 1534 the king had the names of More and Fisher included for misprision (concealment) of treason. Audley, Cromwell, Cranmer and Norfolk interviewed More, trying to win him over to the king's side with reminders of past benefits and promises of love and favour.<sup>(2)</sup> More had given the Nun no encouragement and his conduct had been unexceptionable even by Tudor standards. Audley and Cromwell were fearful lest the house of lords should refuse the bill if More's name were in it. More believed that they acted as his friends in the matter, but his biographer Nicholas Harpsfield gives a sinister inter-

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(1) L.P.VI;1445. (2) N.Harpsfield The Life and Death of Sir Thomas More.p.157, L.P.VII;296.

-pretation, writing that Henry, warned that the bill might not pass, decided to attend the debate in person, at which Audley and Cromwell on their knees besought him not to risk rejection to his face, adding that they trusted that in time some better cause of action against More would arise, but in the case of the Nun he was patently innocent.<sup>(1)</sup>

The better cause soon came to hand. When Audley prorogued parliament on 30 March 1534 the act for the succession was on the statute book, and he and others had been commissioned to take from persons of importance oaths in support of it. Early in April More was summoned to Lambeth and there, before Audley, Cromwell, Cranmer and others, refused to take the oath.<sup>(2)</sup> Within a few days he had been arrested.<sup>(3)</sup> A year later Audley presided over a special commission which condemned four Carthusians and two others for treason.<sup>(4)</sup> In June 1535 More was examined about the royal supremacy by those who had questioned him at Lambeth a year before. A week after this Audley condemned three more Carthusians, and on 17 June sentenced John Fisher, bishop of Rochester.<sup>(5)</sup>

On 1 July More himself was brought to trial in Westminster Hall before a panel of judges headed by Audley and including Fitzwilliam among its members. Audley presided but More dominated. It is not easy to consider the scene without engagement, but to this trial there could be only one end and all those present knew it. After the indictment had been read Audley and Norfolk urged More to throw himself on the king's mercy and held out hope of pardon. He defended himself skilfully

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(1) Harpsfield More pp.164-5, E.Rogers Correspondence of Sir Thomas More p.517. (2) L.P.VII;391, Harpsfield More p.166. (3) L.P.VII;575. (4) L.P.VIII;609,661,666. L.P.VIII;884,886.

but Rich's sickening perjury was decisive. The jury's verdict of guilty was followed by Audley's beginning to pass sentence, when More pulled him up with a reproof gentle, but stinging in its effect. "My lord, when I was toward the law, the manner in such a case was to ask the prisoner, before judgement, why judgement should not be given against him." More's best modern biographer has pointed out that Audley has been censured with undue harshness for his slip.<sup>(1)</sup> More had kept silence on the crucial matter for so long that it was surprising to those who had to deal with him that he should wish to "discharge his conscience" now. Audley wanted to get the matter done with; there was no pleasure in condemning More. In his statement the prisoner, who now knew his condemnation inevitable, made plain his rejection of the new doctrine of the sovereign state. Audley interrupted to ask if he thought himself wiser than "the bishops, universities and best learned of this realm". More's answer appealed to that older conception of Christendom which the age was busily demolishing. "My lord ... I have, for every bishop of yours above one hundred saints, and for one council or parliament of yours (God knoweth of what manner of one), I have all the councils made these thousand years. And for this kingdom, I have all other Christian realms." Audley, uneasy at the last, asked chief justice Fitzjames of the king's bench if the indictment, with its inclusion of the charge of "maliciously" resisting the king's second marriage and the supremacy, was sufficient, for malicious intent had certainly not been proved against More. Fitzjames, in

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(1) R.W. Chambers Thomas More

effect, refused to interpret the act, and on a wresting of the plain meaning of the law, More was condemned.<sup>(1)</sup>

More died because he refused to recognize Anne Boleyn as the king's wife. Within a year of his execution she was herself condemned and beheaded. Brought to the Tower on 2 May 1536 by Audley, her uncle Norfolk, Cromwell and Kingston, she besought them on her knees to seek the King's goodness for her as she was innocent.<sup>(2)</sup> At Westminster Audley, Fitzwilliam and others tried her alleged confederates in adultery.<sup>(3)</sup> Anne and her brother, George, Lord Rochford, were tried and condemned in the Tower. She was beheaded on 19 May, in the presence of Audley, most of the privy council, the mayor and aldermen.<sup>(4)</sup> Fitzwilliam had taken an active part in the business and was said to have tricked Henry Norris, one of the alleged paramours, into a confession, which was repudiated at the trial.<sup>(5)</sup> Even before Anne's trial, Fitzwilliam, the treasurer of the household, with the comptroller, broke up her household at Greenwich and discharged her servants.<sup>(6)</sup>

Most of the punishment meted out to the rebels of 1536 was awarded in the north, but certain of them were brought south for trial. In December, Audley had instructions for the issue of pardons promised the rebels in the Doncaster settlement, but he was soon engaged in trying the same rebels.<sup>(7)</sup> In 1537 he presided over the trial of twelve Lincolnshire men at the Guildhall, with Fitzwilliam also on the panel of judges.<sup>(8)</sup> Next, Fitzwilliam and Cromwell with others examined witnesses against Lord Hussey and

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(1) Harpsfield More pp.183 et seq., L.P.VIII;974(1&vi),996.

(2) Wriothesley Chronicle I p.36, L.P.X;792. (3) L.P.X;848.

(4) Wriothesley Chronicle I p.41. (5) L.P.X;855,865, Archaeologia XXIII p.1531. (6) Wriothesley Chronicle I p.37.

(7) L.P.XI;1276. (8) L.P.XII.1.734, Wriothesley Chronicle I p.62.

Lord Darcy was examined in Audley's house at Christchurch in London. In May Audley and Fitzwilliam were on the commission which tried Aske and other Yorkshire rebels at the Guildhall.<sup>(1)</sup>

The years brought their steady stream of victims for rope and axe. In 1538 the Valois-Hapsburg amity, the activities of Reginald Pole on the continent of Europe, and their own indiscretions, brought catastrophe to the Pole family and others also cursed with Yorkist blood. First arrested was Reginald's younger brother, Sir Geoffrey Pole. In October and November Fitzwilliam and others examined him in the Tower, broke him down and extracted an abject confession.<sup>(2)</sup> He was reserved for use as king's evidence and ultimately pardoned, a half-crazed man. The alleged conspiracy involved Henry Pole, Lord Montague, eldest of the brothers, their mother Margaret Pole, countess of Salisbury in her own right, Henry Courtenay, marquess of Exeter, Sir Edward Neville, a relative of the Poles, and Sir Nicholas Carew, a gentleman of the privy chamber. In November 1538 Fitzwilliam and Thomas Goodrich, bishop of Ely, were sent to Margaret Pole's house at Warblington in Hants. They questioned her for the better part of three days and then wrote to Cromwell an account of their labours. They had tried mildness and they had tried bullying, "traitoring her and her sons to the ninth degree", but she would admit nothing. Never before, they complained, had they seen or heard a woman so earnest, manlike in countenance, precise in gestures and words, and they were half inclined to believe she was not privy to all her

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(1)L.P.XII.i.976,1227(4). (2)L.P.XIII.ii.695(2),703,  
743.

sons' secrets. They questioned her servants, took an inventory of her goods, seized all her plate and other portables and removed her twenty miles to Fitzwilliam's house at Cowdray in Sussex, hoping to disturb her into confession. They then applied themselves once more to questioning, but so fruitlessly that they were on the point of giving up. "We assure your lordship we have dealt with such a one as men have not dealt with all tofore us; we may call her rather a strong and constant man than a woman." Our sympathies are with the lady and it is consolation that she remained bully-proof to the last. Just as they were about to leave her, documents found in her house arrived. They included copies of papa bulls, possession of which was treason. Fitzwilliam subsequently found other evidence, notably a coat of white silk, the arms of England embroidered on one side and the Five Wounds of Christ, badge of the pilgrimage of grace, on the other. This was exhibited to the lords by Cromwell when inviting them to pass an act of attainder on the countess and her family - attainder without the usual trial in the case of the lady.<sup>(1)</sup>

For the time being Margaret Pole was entrusted to the custody of Fitzwilliam. She remained at Cowdray and seems to have been a troublesome charge. When the earl of Southampton and his wife came there in March 1539, she sent one of his gentlemen who, he declared, did nothing but wait upon her, to complain of neglect. He went to her and began his hectoring again. "I .. showed her I and my wife could not find it in our hearts to see her when that arrant whoreson traitor, her son the cardinal, went about

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(1) L.P.XIII.ii.810,818,835,838, 855, Burnet Reformation  
I p.565.

from prince to prince to work trouble to the king and his realm." The lady replied in sorrow that though her son was showing ingratitude to the king, yet he was no whoreson, for she was both a good woman and true! To have his abuse taken so literally was too much for the valiant earl and he retired in disorder. "I had no further talk with her, nor will while I am here. I beg you rid me of her company, for she is both chargeable and troubleth my mind." All this he reported to Cromwell. To add to his dismay, while the formidable lady was at Cowdray, his wife refused to stay there without him and he was obliged to take her with him when he went to Portsmouth on his admiral's duties. But relief was at hand, for the lady of Sarum was shortly after removed to the Tower.<sup>(1)</sup>

In the meantime, in December 1538 a panel of peers had sent Exeter and Montague to the block. To enable him to preside Audley had been ennobled in November and made hâc vice high steward for the trial.<sup>(2)</sup> Fitzwilliam was a member of this panel, as he was of the commissions which condemned Geoffrey Pole (subsequently pardoned), Edward Neville and others immediately after the peers, and Sir Nicholas Carew in February 1539.<sup>(3)</sup>

Thomas Cromwell's downfall was accomplished without the aid of any form of trial. He was destroyed by simple act of attainder, after the fashion he had used for Margaret Pole. The causes of his fall were complicated. It has been considered that, having confiscated the wealth of the monasteries and magnified the power of the crown, he was now superfluous to a master who more and more

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(1) L.P.XIV.i.520,573. (2) L.P.XIII.ii.979,986.

(3) L.P.XIV.i.290.



liked to balance the various parties of the realm and to ride supreme above them all.<sup>(1)</sup> It is no doubt true that Henry would not have thrown his minister to the wolves had he not thought that he could get on without him. Others have seen the immediate occasion of the king's action as being the Howard faction's convincing him that Cromwell was an heretic and a favourer of heretics.<sup>(2)</sup> But both earlier and more recent writers are agreed that the basic mistake which Cromwell made was to overestimate the staying power of the Hapsburg-Valois understanding which threatened England in 1539 and to drive the king into the Cleves marriage, which the king not only disliked but which events had made no longer necessary.

The treaty under which Henry VIII was to marry Anne, sister to the duke of Cleves, was concluded at Hampton Court on 4 October 1539, Fitzwilliam with Audley, Cranmer, Suffolk and Cromwell being the English commissioners.<sup>(3)</sup> Fitzwilliam, the admiral, was to go to the continent to meet the lady. The first intention was that he should take a fleet of ten ships to some Netherland or German port but this plan was soon abandoned on account of the risk and probable discomfort to Anne and her ladies. It was arranged that she should travel overland to Calais and there be received by the admiral.<sup>(4)</sup>

The earl of Southampton had in his party three other lords and thirty knights and gentlemen, among them three of the gentlemen of the king's privy chamber and sixteen of the new corps of gentlemen pensioners. He had as well gentlemen of his own household with him.<sup>(5)</sup> Anne reached Calais on 11 December. The crossing to Dover was to have

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(1) J. Mackie The Earlier Tudors p.416. (2) G.R. Elton England under the Tudors p.158. (3) L.P.XIV.ii.286.  
 (4) L.P.XIV.ii.150, 274-5, 328, 388, 469, 494-5, 548-9.  
 (5) L.P.XIV.ii.572, 622, 630.

been made on 13 December but the weather was too bad and so remained. Improvement was slow to come. Fitzwilliam wrote regularly to the king and Cromwell and received assurances that Henry took the delay in good part and wished him to cheer the lady and her train so that the time might seem to pass quickly.<sup>(1)</sup> In his letters the admiral praised Anne's beauty and this was later to put him to some embarrassment. He personally found her unattractive, but as he declared in his defence, she had been extolled by report and by portrait, and what good could his candour have done at such a late stage? He may have hoped that Henry, whose taste in beauty was scarcely classical, might take to her after all.<sup>(2)</sup>

In the last days of the month the party at last got across, to be met at Dover by Suffolk and Cheyne. On 1 January 1540 they were met at Rochester on the king's behalf by Browne.<sup>(3)</sup> Here also came the royal bridegroom-to-be for a first informal meeting with his betrothed.

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(1) Hall Chronicle p.832. L.P.XIV.ii.572,638,677,685,693,703,726. (2) L.P.XV;850(5). (3) L.P.XIV.ii.572,632,754 XV;14,850(7). The D.N.B. asserts that Browne went to Cleves as proxy in marriage to Anne, but he was certainly in the court throughout the last quarter of 1539. The error probably arises from a portrait which was at Cowdray until destroyed in the 1793 fire. J.Dallaway The History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex 1 pt.ii p.246 gives a catalogue of the paintings made in 1777, in which no.12 is Sir Anthony Browne in the parti-coloured dress in which he married, by proxy of King Henry VIII the Princess Ann of Cleves. The Gentleman's Magazine 1793. LXIII pt.ii in some notes on Cowdray gives a much fuller description of this portrait which it ascribes to Isaac Oliver. It is possible that this was the costume in which Browne received Anne of Cleves at Rochester on 1 January 1540, an action which later became a non-existent marriage by proxy and ended by making Browne visit Cleves.

He did not like her and Browne and others who knew him could see that this was so. Browne had been dismayed when he saw Anne, and Henry's reaction to her, and the fact that he "tarried not to speak twenty words" confirmed his fears. Cromwell threatened Fitzwilliam with the king's displeasure for the praises which he had written. That night Henry did not send a seasonable gift of furs, as had been intended, but despatched them by Browne the next morning, with a "cold message". Returnin from Rochester to Greenwich in his barge with Browne, the king said sadly and pensively, "I see nothing in thi woman as men report of her, and I marvel that wise men would make such report as they have done". Browne feared for Fitzwilliam, his own mother's son.<sup>(1)</sup>

Not even Henry's personal aversion could halt the proceedings, even though it could in time reverse them. The next morning he "marched through the park" at Greenwich to receive Anne in state. The cream of England was there and it included lord chancellor Audley, lord admiral Southampton, Sir Anthony Browne - "a goodly gentleman and a comely personage, well horsed, trapped and appar-elled" - leading the king's horse of estate immediately after the monarch. Also present were Anthony Denny of the privy chamber, the new gentlemen pensioners, of which Browne was captain, and the wives of Audley, Browne, Cheyne and Denny. Lady Alice Browne was one of Anne's privy chamber.<sup>(2)</sup>

After the meeting Henry ordered Cromwell to call a council of Cranmer, Norfolk, Suffolk, Audley, Tunstall, Fitzwilliam and himself to discuss the royal predicament

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(1)L.P.XV;850(7). (2)L.P.XV;10,14,18,135, Hall Chronicle  
p.834.

The escape clause almost invariably present in such marriage contracts - the existence, or alleged existence of a pre-contract - was discussed and seemingly rejected, presumably as not giving sufficiently solid ground for a repudiation at this stage.<sup>(1)</sup> After confidential talk with Cromwell, the king went forward with the marriage on 6 January, three days late, saying that he had a great yoke to enter into and preparing himself slackly for the ceremony, with groans that he "must needs".<sup>(2)</sup>

The months that followed saw Cromwell's vain but by no means hopeless fight for survival. Then on 10 June he was arrested in the council. The first public intimation of his fall was when Cheyne, with a strong force of the guard, entered the minister's house and seized and inventoried his goods.<sup>(3)</sup>

There remained the business of ridding the king of his unwanted queen. The direct route via Tower Green just would not do in this international situation. Audley and Norfolk were sent to examine the doomed Cromwell in the Tower and secure his testimony to Henry's unwillingness to marry Anne.<sup>(4)</sup> On 6 July Audley reminded the house of lords of the wars of the Roses and the danger of a disputed succession; he revealed doubts about the legality of the royal marriage, referred to the possibility of any issue from it being challengeable, and proposed that the question be submitted to convocation as involving canon law.<sup>(5)</sup> The lords assented and addressed the king to suffer his marriage to be tried, whereupon Audley, Cranmer, Norfolk, Suffolk, Southampton and Tunstall were sent to the commons and secured their support, conveyed by Cheyne and a number of others.<sup>(6)</sup> The church lawyers

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(1) L.P.XV;824,850(3). (2) L.P.XV;850(5). (3) L.P.XV;767, 804. (4) L.P.XV;823. (5) J.A.Froude History of England from the fall of Wolsey to the defeat of the Spanish Armada III p.317 (6) Burnet Reformation I p.446 Lords' Journals I p.153.

were ready. Tunstall and Gardiner were named to sit and next day evidence was taken. Henry claimed that he had from the beginning been unwilling and he cited Brown among his witnesses to this. He claimed that he had lacked both will and power to consummate the marriage and cited his physicians, with Fitzwilliam, and Denny and Hennage of the privy chamber. Denny deposed that when he had praised Anne to Henry the king had said "she was no such person as she was praised for", and told him as a confidential servant that he could induce in himself no affection for her, for her body was such that he doubted her virginity and could never consummate the marriage. Denny in reply had lamented the state of princes to be far worse than that of poor men who could choose for themselves. This sort of conversation had taken place several times. Browne recounted Henry's words of distaste and swore that his recently deceased wife, who had been one of Anne's attendants, had told him before the marriage that she saw in her such fashion and manner of upbringing so gross that in her judgement the king should never heartily love her. He thought that the king entered the marriage reluctantly and under compulsion of outward respects. Fitzwilliam also gave his version of events, and Audley and those others who had been with him in council the day after Anne was received at Greenwich put their doubts as to whether the pre-contract had been properly cleared. The evidence was used before a convocation of both provinces in Westminster Abbey chapter house and Cranmer pronounced the marriage null and void on 9 July.<sup>(1)</sup>

Anne's attitude to the proceedings was an important

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(1) L.P. XV; 825, 850, 860-1.

factor, and perhaps fortunately for all concerned she made no resistance. At first she received the news "heavily" but soon a full commission headed by Audley and including Fitzwilliam and Cheyne was able to write to Henry from Richmond that his "virtuous desire" could be accomplished.<sup>(1)</sup> Her acquiescence was later signified to Fitzwilliam, Suffolk and Wriothesley and a notarial instrument made of her acceptance of the decree of nullity.<sup>(2)</sup> She agreed to write to her brother telling him of her assent.<sup>(3)</sup> On 12 July parliament passed an act annulling the marriage. All was now tidy. Church and parliament had acted and what could be done to minimise diplomatic repercussions had been done. Anne's reward was swift and its amplitude indicated Henry's relief. The three commissioners conveyed to her promise of £4,000 a year and two houses. Later they went to Richmond to discharge her household as queen and swear in new ones as "the king's sister", and subsequently they took her valuable presents.<sup>(4)</sup> The whole business had taken but six weeks since the fall of Cromwell. On 28 July he was beheaded at Tyburn.

In August Audley, Norfolk and Fitzwilliam wrote to the Cleves government about the Anglo-Cleves friendship, which survived the affair. In November 1541, after Henry had once more encountered matrimonial disaster, the Cleves government asked Fitzwilliam to favour Anne's affairs and the next month the Cleves ambassador approached him in the matter of a reconciliation between the king and Anne, but it was never a serious possibility, and Fitzwilliam had him before the council and delivered

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(1) L.P.XV;844-5. (2) L.P.XV;827(3),874. (3) L.P.XV;883.  
 (4) L.P.XV;925.

the king's rejection of the idea.<sup>(1)</sup>

There hangs over the Cleves affair a faint air of the ridiculous. Henry had been placed in a difficult position in which high policy and personal inclination had collided. He had ultimately got out of it by his usual mixture of imperiousness and scrupulous adherence to legal form, if not to justice, plus a good deal of expense. In contrast to the processes by which he ~~had~~ rid himself of three other wives, only one head had fallen as a result, albeit one that he would have done well to spare.

The same day that Cromwell died at Tyburn Henry made his fifth marriage. The bride was Katherine Howard, niece of the duke of Norfolk. For a while all seemed to go well and the king to have found contentment at last. By the end of October 1541 king and court had returned from the long northern progress. Four of our men - Browne, Cheyne, Denny and Fitzwilliam - had been with it. Then, at Hampton Court, allegations were made to Cranmer about the queen's sexual conduct before her marriage. In perplexity the archbishop confided the explosive information to Audley and Hertford, who advised that he inform the king in writing. Henry could not believe what he was told. He called Fitzwilliam, Russell, Browne and Wriothesley to him. At midnight on 4/5 November Audley, Norfolk, Cheyne and others were suddenly summoned to the council. Next day the king left for London in his barge, the council remaining in session. On 6 November they followed him to the capital and sat nearly all day and night, and the next day and night, the king sitting with them, an unusual thing, according to the French ambassador.<sup>(2)</sup>

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(1) E.P. XV; 970, 1445, 1453. (2) L.P. XVI; 1328, 1331-3.

Fitzwilliam and Browne were among the investigators who now went into action. Fitzwilliam took a statement from John Lassels, whose approach to Cranmer had started the affair, and he then went into the country to examine the man's sister, Mary Hall, who alleged that there had before the queen's marriage been misconduct in the duchess of Norfolk's house between Katherine and one Mannox, and that she had heard of a similar relationship with a Francis Dereham.<sup>(1)</sup> He arrested Dereham who made a confession.<sup>(2)</sup> The queen was examined by Cranmer, Norfolk, Audley and Gardiner and at first protested her innocence, but then broke down and admitted the charges. On 12 November Audley assembled all available councillors and counsel in the Star chamber and revealed what was known, with hint of more to follow. Fitzwilliam confirmed the matter to the emperor's ambassador in a long conversation a week later and on 22 November Marillac was able to write a full account to Francis I.<sup>(3)</sup>

All this was bad enough but worse was to follow. There emerged evidence of misconduct after marriage. It was to Browne that Margaret Morton, one of the queen's attendants, confessed that at Hatfield (Yorks) she saw the queen "look out of her chamber window on Mr. Culpeper after such sort that she thought there was love between them" Thomas Culpeper was one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber. Morton also stated that at Pontefract, every night, the queen being alone with Lady Rochford, locked and bolted her door on the inside and Mr. Denny, sent to the queen from the king, one night found the door bolted.<sup>(4)</sup>

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(1)L.P.XVI;1320,1334. (2)L.P.XVI;1366. (3)L.P.XVI;1359, 1366. (4)L.P.XVI;1338.



Further evidence was collected and Culpeper and Dereham were tried by special commission at the Guildhall on 1 December. The lord mayor, Audley, Norfolk, Suffolk, Fitzwilliam, Sussex, Hertford, Russell, St. John, Browne, Gage and others were on what seems a formidable tribunal to try commoners. The verdict was guilty of high treason and execution at Tyburn followed.<sup>(1)</sup> Next came the process of dealing with those to whose negligent training the queen's faulty morals were attributed. It was in the house of her grandmother, the duchess of Norfolk, long estranged from her husband the duke, that Katherine's offences with Dereham and Mannox had taken place. Early in December 1541 Fitzwilliam and Wriothesley visited the duchess as if to comfort her, for she claimed that she was ill. They found her not so unwell and told her that Audley had some questions for her, at which she began to be very sick at heart, but was persuaded to go. They then left her and went to Wriothesley's house, whence they watched until they saw her go down river toward the city in her barge, to the lord chancellor's house. She would not be allowed to return, and they sent officers to seize her houses and goods in London and Horsham.<sup>(2)</sup> Next day the council in London met at Audley's house, examined her and extracted a good deal of evidence. Later they questioned Lady Bridgewater, the duchess's daughter, and other women involved.<sup>(3)</sup> Finally Katherine's uncle, Lord William Howard, came under suspicion. He was detained in London from returning to his post as ambassador in France.<sup>(4)</sup> By 16 December Fitzwilliam and Wriothesley were at Woking reporting to the king.<sup>(5)</sup> The

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(1) L.P.XVI;1395. (2) L.P.XVI;1408. (3) L.P.XVI;1411,1414,1422.. (4) L.P.XVI;1425,1444. (5) L.P.XVI;1453.

aggrieved monarch had left London after the trial of Culpeper and Dereham and, accompanied by Browne and other councillors, was spending the time at his palaces in Surrey.<sup>(1)</sup> A few days later Fitzwilliam and Wriothesley, still working as a team, were back in London, questioning the duchess in the Tower.<sup>(2)</sup> Lord William Howard, his wife Margaret, and others were on 22 December convicted of misprision of treason, for concealment of the Dereham matter, before a special commission on which sat Audley, Fitzwilliam and Cheyne, among others, and they were attainted in January 1542.<sup>(3)</sup> The penalty was loss of goods and perpetual imprisonment, but it was not fully enforced, all having been released in little more than two years.

To deal with the offending queen and her confidante, the widow of Anne Boleyn's executed brother, parliament was again summoned. It was opened in the king's presence on 16 January 1542. Some time later Audley moved the lords to consider the king's situation and proposed that a commission be sent to examine the queen. According to Chapuys, Audley's speech exaggerated and aggravated the girl's misdeeds beyond all reason. Fitzwilliam was among the lords appointed to visit her. On 11 February he reported to the house on their behalf and a bill of attainder was passed.<sup>(4)</sup> Katherine had been confined in Syon abbey since the affair began. On 10 February, not without some resistance, she was taken down river to the Tower, still treated with the ceremony due to a queen. Fitzwilliam with a number of other privy councillors and attendants went first in a "great barge". Then came a

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(1) L.P.XVI;1425. (2) L.P.XVI;1467. (3) L.P.XVI;1470-1.

(4) Burnet Reformation I p.494, Froude History of England III p.475, Lords' Journals I, L.P.XVII, Appendix, C.S.P. Spanish VI p.485.

small covered barge carrying Katherine, dressed in black velvet, with half a dozen ladies and gentlemen. Suffolk and a company of his men brought up the rear in another great barge. Three days later, at 7 a.m., Fitzwilliam and most of the privy council witnessed the butchery of the two women on Tower Green. Lady Rochford died raving mad, but the young queen made a dignified end.<sup>(1)</sup> She had been almost unbelievably foolish, even when allowance has been made for her lack of moral training. She was queen to Henry VIII and the errors she made could have no other result than that which had followed.

In between the cases of the Cleves and Howard marriages Audley was again appointed high steward for the purpose of trying a peer. In April 1541 Thomas Fynes, Lord Dacre, of Hurstmonceux in Sussex, was involved in poaching his neighbour's park in company with a number of others, including Thomas Cheyne's son John, the husband of Fynes' wife's sister. The grand jury's indictment had declared that they had first assembled to plan the expedition, intending to hunt with dogs and nets, and bound themselves to slay any of the king's liéges who might resist them in their illegal purpose. The latter intention seems so unlikely in its premeditation, even in a violent age, that it smells of chicanery to ensure a murder conviction. Ten days later the poaching party took place. It fell in with three local men on the way and fearing recognition and hindrance, attacked them and mortally wounded one. They were tried in the king's bench, except for Dacre, who was brought before his peer and all were condemned to be hanged, although Audley and

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(1)L.P.XVII;124.

his fellow peers were very reluctant to find Dacre guilty and only yielded to pressure from the king. Henry's determination in this matter is without explanation. It may be that he was determined to make an example, or it is just possible that the "binding themselves to slay" indictment was true and that such things had to be stamped out. A darker possibility is that we have here an illustration of that "readiness to commit political or dynastic murder" that G.R. Elton ascribes to the king in a recent publication. Perhaps there was some political advantage to be gained from Dacre's death.<sup>(1)</sup> Some of those involved were pardoned, among them John Cheyne. There was considerable astonishment at the distinction in treatment, especially since Cheyne had already been involved in a somewhat similar affair.<sup>(2)</sup>

The last important trials of Henry VIII's reign were those of Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk and his son, Henry, earl of Surrey. In 1543 Surrey had been before the council on a variety of charges, ranging from eating flesh in Lent to breaking the windows of London citizens with "stone bows". Browne had been one of those councillors who questioned witnesses in the matter. The real cause of offence was that the earl boasted his descent from Edward I, allowed himself to be called a prince and was headstrong and rash.<sup>(3)</sup> He escaped with a short imprisonment, but by 1546 he had given more serious cause for suspicion and greater colour to the charges made by the enemies of his house. In December 1546 Surrey and Norfolk were arrested. In January 1547 Cheyne and Browne were members of the commission which tried Surrey at the

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(1) G.R. Elton Henry VIII-An Essay in Revision (The Historical Association 1962). (2) L.P. XVI; 931, 932, 947(53), 954. (3) L.P. XVIII.i.315.

Guildhall. They found him guilty of treason in displaying the royal arms, although he argued his case so well that the court sat from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. and royal pressure had to be brought on the jury to secure a conviction. He was executed. His father, among whose questioners had been Browne, was condemned to die by act of attainder. Due for execution on 28 January 1547, he was saved by Henry's death on the day before, to remain in the Tower throughout Edward VI's reign.<sup>(1)</sup>

In January 1549 Cheyne with most of the other privy councillors sent Thomas Seymour to the Tower, examined him there the next month, and was with Denny among the commission appointed by parliament to question him. Seymour was subsequently attainted of treason and suffered execution.<sup>(2)</sup>

The only one of our men who came near to being the accused in a state trial was John Wallop. His hostility to the break with Rome and his sympathy with Katherine of Aragon was scarcely concealed and he had already come under suspicion on at least one occasion before his arrest.<sup>(3)</sup> He was English ambassador in France when, in January 1541 he was notified that his friends at court had made suit for his promotion and that he was to come home directly on the arrival of his replacement, Lord William Howard - who was himself to be arrested before his duty as ambassador ended, as has been explained above.<sup>(4)</sup> The information that Chapuys had was that Wallop was to be given the command at Guisnes, but that some suspected his recall to be due to fear that he would flee to Rome, as Richard Pate, archdeacon of Lincoln had recently done.

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(1) L.P. XXI.ii.541,696-7, Wriothesley Chronicle I p.177.

(2) A.P.C. II pp.219,236,238,263. (3) L.P. XV;737.

(4) L.P. XVI;427.

Both reasons seem to have been partly true. Wallop expressed his gladness at recall and his desire to see his master after nearly two years absence.<sup>(1)</sup> Howard did not reach Paris until early in February and because of the inevitable delay involved in handing over and his health not permitting him to ride post, Wallop did not reach Calais until the end of the month.<sup>(2)</sup> Meantime Sir Richard Long, one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber, was told to go to Sittingbourne in Kent and there await the coming of "A.B." (Wallop) and greet him as if met by chance. He was then to tell him that since his promotion had been decided upon certain accusations had been made against him and that he must clear himself. In order that his reputation should be protected the king intended the matter to be kept secret until he had been examined by the council. Long was to ask that Wallop's "Casket of writings" should be sent to the king, and then to make him write to Hertford at Calais, pretending that he had left some writings there and asking for search to be made for them. He was also to write to his wife, who was at Calais, to show Hertford where all his writings were. These letters written, Long was to bring him to Southwark with outward friendliness but to have a "convenient eye unto him" and, if his secretary travelled with him they were to be kept apart, neither to know that the other was under restraint.<sup>(3)</sup>

Preparations had been thorough but not quite thorough enough. The delay in Wallop's arrival at Calais seems to have caused matters to go awry and it also appears that the secret was not or could not be well kept. Rumour

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(1) L.P.XVI;436,488. (2) L.P.XVI;488,528,530,599.

(3) L.P.XVI;575.

began to work. On 2 March Wallop approached Hertford at Calais and the earl had to do some hard lying before he even seemed to be reassured.<sup>(1)</sup> Long's instructions were amended in haste. He was now to dismiss most of his escort but to remain at Sittingbourne with a few servants to meet and welcome Wallop but to let him pass on his way without arousing his suspicions.<sup>(2)</sup> The new arrangements were too late. Wallop had not been convinced by Hertford and he sent to Long from Canterbury saying that he had heard numerous reports that he waited to arrest him. Long "marvelled greatly" and denied any such commission, but Wallop was too old in royal service to be deceived. He came to dine with Long, saying openly as he dismounted in the courtyard that he had come to yield himself prisoner. Later, in private, he said that had he been conscious of any fault he could have fled from France, and that if the king had anything against him he should be examined before being arrested. At dinner he wept for grief that he should be thought false. Long maintained his pretence of ignorance and allowed Wallop to pass ahead to London.<sup>(3)</sup>

Three days later he was lodged in the Tower, but was subsequently taken to Fitzwilliam's house in the Strand for his examination. At first he "stood very stiffly to his truth", not recalling any fault, "but when the king, of his goodness, caused his own letters to Pate, that traitor, to be shown to him, he cried for mercy, refusing all shifts, for the things were most manifest. however he protested he had done these things for no malicious purpose". He wrote a full statement of all his

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(1)L.P.XVI;586. (2)L.P.XVI;595. (3)L.P.XVI;597.

follies and offences to be presented to the king, refused all trial and threw himself on the king's mercy. Since his first denials seemed due to forgetfulness, "being a man unlearned", and since queen Katherine Howard made great suit for him, the king pardoned and fully forgave him. He was sent, with Sir Thomas Wyatt who was also offending and forgiven, to see the king at Dover. Wallop was then despatched to his new command at Guisnes, where he was to spend most of the remaining decade of his life.<sup>(1)</sup>

We are left in the dark about the details of Wallop's offence, although Chapuys was informed that he was "imprisoned for having said something in favour of Pope Paul and communing with traitors".<sup>(2)</sup> But the general direction is clear. He had, at last, been too free in opposition to the king's religious policy. The realisation of this must have lain behind his apparent despair from the moment he learned of his impending arrest. It also seems clear that he did not know, until his examination, the particulars of the offences he was supposed to have committed. The affair cannot have been very serious since Henry's pardon was soon and easily granted. Perhaps it was a warning to Wallop and others of his opinions not to overstep the mark. Katherine Howard's intervention is interesting. Wallop was an old colleague and associate of Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, but this cannot have been the sole reason for her action, since she also pleaded for Wyatt, who was of the protestant party.

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(1) L.P.XVI; 606, 650, 660, 678(41).

(2) L.P.XVI; 662-3.



Chapter IX Ambassadors Abroad

Of our six courtiers four were at various times engaged in diplomatic service abroad. Cheyne, Browne, Fitzwilliam and Wallop saw Europe from Bayonne to Cracow and from Rome to the Netherlands, as personal messengers for their master, as members of embassy suites or as ambassadors themselves. It was to France that they went most often and for the longest periods. None went to Spain. Sixteenth century ambassadors were of two kinds, special and resident. The special embassy was the older form, traceable through the middle ages into antiquity. Its purposes have been classified under two heads, embassies of ceremony and embassies of negotiation.<sup>(1)</sup> Embassies of ceremony were commonly headed by persons of rank and distinction. That which accompanied Mary Tudor to France for her marriage with Louis XII in 1514 included the duke of Norfolk, treasurer and marshal of England, the marquess of Dorset, the bishop of Durham, the earl of Surrey, the earl of Worcester, lord chamberlain, the prior of St. John's and the dean of Windsor. They took the bride as far as Abbeville where the marriage took place. Mary's coronation in Paris was attended by four of the above and in addition the duke of Suffolk. Twenty of the yeomen of the guard were sent over for the ceremony.<sup>(2)</sup> The embassy which went to France in 1518 to receive the ratification by Francis I of the treaty of London was headed by the earl of Worcester, the bishop of Ely and the prior of St. John's.<sup>(3)</sup> The commission to invest Francis with the Garter in 1527 was led by Lord Lisle.<sup>(4)</sup>

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(1) G. Mattingly ~~the~~ Renaissance Diplomacy p. 34

(2) L.P.I; 3424, 3426. (3) L.P.II; 4564. (4) L.P.IV; 3508.

In contrast, by 1546 Henry VIII's personal representative as godfather to the dauphin's daughter was Thomas Cheyne, treasurer of the household and knight of the Garter, but not a peer.

Special embassies of negotiation could include nobles if the importance of their task required emphasis, but such men were not mere figureheads. Norfolk and Lord Rochford, both experienced and important people, were sent to France in 1533 to attend the meeting of the French king and the pope at Nice, a meeting which England earnestly desired should be fruitless. But special embassies for negotiation were commonly entrusted to experienced laymen of lesser rank, to bishops or lower ecclesiastical dignitaries. Fitzwilliam and Robert Wingfield went to the Netherlands in 1525, Fitzwilliam and John Clerk, bishop of Bath went to France in 1526-7, and Cheyne to the emperor in 1549 and 1553.

The special embassy was still regarded as the embassy proper, but early in the sixteenth century there had spread from Italy into northern Europe the important innovation of the resident embassy, which was to grow in significance at the expense of its older counterpart. A product of Italian quattrocento statecraft, the office has been described as the agent and symbol of a continuous system of diplomatic pressure and a weapon in the struggle for power.<sup>(1)</sup> It was in the last decade of the fifteenth century that European powers outside Italy began to employ resident ambassadors. England received them from Spain and Venice in 1496. Her first resident abroad was at Rome in Henry VII's reign. Permanent diplomatic links with France came rather late, with the residence of Sir Thomas Boleyn

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(1) G. Mattingly Renaissance Diplomacy p.64

at the French court from 1519 and the coming of Gian Giacomo Passano to England in 1525.

At the end of the fifteenth century Ermolao Barbaro, himself a resident ambassador, described the functions of such an official as being to win or preserve the friendship of princes. In practice the resident ambassador had at first only feeble means to attain this end. He had no part in shaping his government's policy and had to rely on the power of his personality to influence monarchs and ministers, to stir up or to calm down as was needed. He could ingratiate himself socially and even employ corruption in a discreet and probably petty fashion, but since his function was to make his government's policy palatable to his host, the chance of success depended, as it always must, on what that policy was.

So far was the resident ambassador from influencing policy that on occasion we find Fitzwilliam in France kept in apparently deliberate darkness about measures against the French which Wolsey had taken or contemplated taking. When, in 1521, he ventured to offer some very equivocal advice as to the side England should take in the impending war, he prefaced it with the disclaimer, - "whatsoever shall be the king's pleasure [I] know not, nor is it meet that I should."<sup>(1)</sup> A decade and more later there were signs that resident ambassadors were in this respect becoming more important. Chapuys believed that Wallop in France was urging English friendship with Charles V while from French sources we hear that he had on his own initiative opened conversations with the imperial ambassador for a rapprochement, an action later

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(1)L.P.III;1521.

endorsed by both their governments. It is hard to believe that Wallop really had taken such a step on his own responsibility but it is significant that the French thought this possible.

The sort of treatment afforded to a resident ambassador depended to some extent on his own personality, but it was also a sensitive indicator of the state of relationships between powers. If there was harmony, or the host nation wanted something, all was smiles and goodwill. The resident might be lodged near the monarch, taken hunting with him daily, bidden to come to him as freely as he did to his own master, even made a titular member of the royal household, given private interviews and such marks of favour as presenting the towel when the prince washed his hands.<sup>(1)</sup> Ministers were accessible and courtiers affable and willing to converse. But should things go ill the atmosphere could change rapidly. Fitzwilliam in 1521 found that the first stage was for courtiers to become unapproachable, while the king remained openly friendly. Then the royal familiarity decreased. At one time he was in the king's presence three times in a week and got nothing but a wordless nod.<sup>(2)</sup> The final stage, experienced by Wallop in 1533, was open anger and vexation shown by Francis.<sup>(3)</sup> Browne and Bonner in 1538 underwent what they considered great incivility, part of which was being given poor lodgings.<sup>(4)</sup>

In such circumstances an ambassador was supposed to keep personal feelings under control, as Fitzwilliam managed to do when Margaret of Navarre taxed him with his government's dishonesty,<sup>(5)</sup> and as Browne and Bonner signally

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(1)L.P.IV;2092. (2)L.P.III;1441,1521,1602. (3)L.P.VIII;837,1052. (4)L.P.XIII.ii.640. (5)L.P.III;1581.

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failed to do. But there were occasions when the ambassador himself was churlish at the order of his government. in 1535 Wallop shunned the French court for a period on orders, as a mark of English resentment.<sup>(1)</sup> In 1542 a report that Browne was to be sent to France was taken as a sign of English hostility. Marillac, the French ambassador in England, considered him the most Francophobe of the English courtiers and that his despatch would indicate English readiness for war.<sup>(2)</sup>

The ostensible function of an ambassador resident was to be his government's mouthpiece. More important in reality was his task of collecting information. Instructions and letters continually harp on the need for regular, frequent (daily if possible) reports, made in as full a manner as could be. Diplomacy, like war, needed an ample supply of fresh and reliable information for its successful prosecution and it was his job to provide it. The actions and intentions of the monarch, the state of affairs in his realm in matters political, military and economic, events great and small and matters high and low, all provided the contents of an ambassador's report. When Fitzwilliam found himself shunned or spoken to guardedly by Francis, his mother Louise of Savoy, and the court, it was the consequent drying up of his sources of information that gave him most anxiety. He was forced back on ~~providi~~ providing Wolsey with "such news as I have learned of such as I [have hired] for my money, which news I will not assure your Grace to be true..."<sup>(3)</sup> Even when the French king's attitude changed it was some time before the supply of news was once more coming freely.<sup>(4)</sup>

To handle his correspondence the ambassador would have

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(1) L.P..VIII;471. (2) L.P..XVII;654. (3) L.P..III;562.

(4) L.P..III;1602.

a secretary. From an early date this servant was more than an amanuensis, for he might act as a go between with ministers and courtiers.<sup>(1)</sup> The ambassador would also have on his staff young gentlemen who might help him to obtain information, but his principal reliance would be on his own eyes and ears. He was, broadly speaking, his own attaché for all departments. He hunted, hawked, dined, danced, masked, walked and talked with kings, queens, ministers, household officers, royal mistresses, courtiers, other ambassadors and everybody who could tell him something which he did not know. As he moved about the country in the wake of a mobile court, especially one as restless as that of Francis I, he had opportunity to see and hear much that could be useful. Occasionally, in times of friendship and co-operation, he might be invited to sit in with the royal council, as opposed to being summoned before it for questioning.

Barbaro considered the first duty of an ambassador to be exactly the same as that of any other servant of a prince, which was to do, say, advise and think whatever might best serve the preservation and aggrandizement of his own state. He could have no private views, for he existed to serve the state. The importance of being able to take a dispassionate view of a situation was and is of the first consequence for an ambassador of any kind, but vital for a resident, whose life was one long struggle to influence without being influenced and to deceive without being deceived. To become personally involved was to complicate an already difficult situation. In this respect our four ambassadors were not uniformly successful, a fact

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(1)L.P.XV;459.

which may be attributed in part to the comparative novelty of the office. Fitzwilliam was nearest to the ideal. His only rooted prejudice was against Scotsmen and although he had friction with Scots diplomats in France, his personal feelings were under control. Cheyne was thoroughly pro-French, a viewpoint which may have been of use as a corrective to the traditional English hostility to things French. He had the probably painful experience of being the resident in France when war was declared in 1522, although the actual declaration was an old fashioned defiance from Henry to Francis, delivered by Clarendieux herald. In a later period Cheyne had moderated his opinions to the point where the imperial court could receive him as a friendly ambassador. Wallop was consistently pro-imperial, urging his government to a Hapsburg policy. Yet he spent long years in France and seems to have been a popular and successful ambassador, being sent specially in 1540 to replace Edmund Bonner, who had made himself objectionable to Francis. Least successful was Browne. He had been shown favour when he was in Thomas Bolyen's suite in 1519, but in his residency in 1527 and still more in that of 1538 his outlook became one of permanent dislike for the French.

Thomas Cheyne was sent to Italy to Leo X in 1513. The purpose of his mission is uncertain, but it cost the king at least £1,400.<sup>(1)</sup> War with France was still in progress, so he probably followed a route up the Rhine and over the Alps. His return journey certainly took him through Brussels. On his way back he visited the marquess of Mantua who showed him his stables and bade

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(1)L.P.I;2437, II;1459.

him take his pick for Henry's use. Cheyne knew better than to take such an offer at its face value and declined, whereupon the marquess chose four as a gift.<sup>(1)</sup> In 1519 Cheyne was again in Italy, returning home this time with a gift to the king of a horse from the duke of Ferrara, to whom two palfreys had been sent.<sup>(2)</sup>

John Wallop was in 1515 sent to the regent of the Netherlands, Margaret of Savoy, with letters from the king.<sup>(3)</sup> In 1518 Wallop, Browne, Cheyne and five other gentlemen were paid each £40 "going into Flanders". This scarcely looks like an embassy, but the time was one of brief but resounding peace in Europe and the mission had presumably some quiet purpose.<sup>(4)</sup> In October 1514 Cheyne and Wallop were among the lords and gentlemen who accompanied Mary Tudor to France.<sup>(5)</sup> Fitzwilliam probably accompanied the special English embassy to France headed by Worcester and West, bishop of Ely, in the last weeks of 1518. He certainly returned home with West in February 1519.<sup>(6)</sup> Browne either went out with the embassy or joined it from Flanders. When it went home he was one of the gentlemen left behind with the first resident, Boleyn. He had a quarrel with one of the other gentlemen and came to blows. Wolsey ordered the culprits home, but Browne's career does not seem to have been damaged. He got a good report<sup>(7)</sup> from Boleyn, who said that the French thought well of him.

First of our men to have charge of a mission was Fitzwilliam. In January 1521 he was sent to France to replace Sir Richard Jerningham. From policy or from genuine liking Francis at first made much of the young Englishman, who was about his own age. A common skill in hunting

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(1)L.P.I;2732,2757,2908,3024,3078,3403. (2)L.P. III;479.  
 (3)L.P.II;798. (4)L.P.II;p.1480. (5)L.P.I;3348,3513.  
 (6)L.P.III;9,57. (7)L.P.III;111,246,273.



enabled Fitzwilliam to keep close to Francis, who hunted every day he could do so.<sup>(1)</sup> The French king declared that he would have Fitzwilliam treated as one of his own chamber.<sup>(2)</sup> His acceptability to the king and the cultivation of acquaintance at the court enabled him to keep Wolsey well supplied with information. In fact his French sources were more prolific than his supply from home, which caused him some embarrassment. He had to explain Buckingham's execution seemingly without brief,<sup>(3)</sup> and when Louise of Savoy asked his opinion of Charles V's conduct, alleging that he had broken the peace, Fitzwilliam was so much in the dark that he had to resort to diplomatic evasion. "Madame, I am here where I hear but the one tale; howbeit I take the king your son to be a prince of his word that I believe what he sayeth, and if there be no more than he showeth me I think they be more to blame than he."<sup>(4)</sup> It was from French sources that he learned that Jerningham was to come to France again on a special visit,<sup>(5)</sup> and out hunting with the king or hawking with the admiral, he was repeatedly asked to confirm things of which he could only admit ignorance.<sup>(6)</sup>

In May 1521 Jerningham arrived with fresh instructions and an offer by Henry to mediate between Francis and Charles.<sup>(7)</sup> Desiring to make reply by word of mouth, Francis sent Fitzwilliam to England. It is probable that the ambassador had a hand in this, otherwise Jerningham would have gone, but Fitzwilliam had already been trying to get a recall for personal reasons.<sup>(8)</sup> He was in England for a short while in June and on his return he and Jerningham were able to report to Wolsey that Francis accepted the

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(1) L.P. III; 1160. (2) L.P. III; 1202. (3) L.P. III; 1163, 1245.  
 (4) L.P. III; 1246. (5) L.P. III; 1268. (6) L.P. III; 1278.  
 (7) L.P. III; 1283, 1303. (8) L.P. III; 1337, 1268.

offer of mediation.<sup>(1)</sup>

So far things had gone well for the ambassador. Both Wolsey and Henry had expressed appreciation of his work and Jerningham wrote, "...he has so well ordered himself that he has the favour of the king, my lady and the admiral, and is in as good credence with them and the council as any man of his degree that has been here for a great space."<sup>(2)</sup> But, after Jerningham had gone home, Fitzwilliam found the atmosphere less cordial. It is probable that justified suspicion of English intentions was rising. At first the court and then the king began to show coldness.<sup>(3)</sup> Fitzwilliam was shunned and his sources of information cut off. Margaret of Navarre, sister to Francis, nearly provoked him to undiplomatic anger by a more or less direct attack on English honesty. He was, he wrote home, "a young man and ...choleric of complexion," and if a man should speak to him in such terms he would not answer for his actions. He asked Wolsey to recall him.<sup>(4)</sup> The English cardinal arrived at Calais early in August to conduct the mediation but Fitzwilliam's difficulties were by no means eased thereby. He hoped to be summoned to Calais, if only to get information. Sickness among his servants made the sending of letters difficult and those he did send were not returned to him. He was forced to use the French posts with consequent absence of even the most rudimentary security.<sup>(5)</sup>

By the end of September things brightened a little with a return to cordiality by the French, who accepted or pretended to accept Wolsey's impartiality. Instead of a wordless nod from the king and strange looks from the

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(1) C.S.P. Venetian 1520-26; 238, 240, 243. L.P. III; 1384, 1412.

(2) L.P. III; 1337. (3) L.P. III; 1521, Appx. 29., 1441.

(4) L.P. III; 1562, 1569, 1581. (5) L.P. III; 1469, 1519.

council, he was now treated as he had been at first. Nevertheless he still wanted to come home for personal reasons, as well as because his diets were two months in arrear and he wanted money to pay his posts, having already borrowed all that his credit would stand.<sup>(1)</sup> At the end of October he at last received an answer. Wolsey excused the delay as being due to his own sickness and to interruption of the posts. It seems more likely that Fitzwilliam had been kept deliberately in ignorance. Wolsey loved to pose as the arbiter of Europe, but the Calais mediation was only a sham, for England was already committed to the emperor. It was probably policy that the English ambassador should not know this. His youthful honesty might half convince the French that England was sincere. Still, Wolsey's letter contained fresh instructions and £100 to meet his expenses.<sup>(2)</sup>

Charles V and Francis I were now at war, and the French king was taking the field on his northern border, and insisted on Fitzwilliam accompanying him.<sup>(3)</sup> During the campaign, which Fitzwilliam found most uncomfortable, Wolsey sent Worcester and West to the French court and Fitzwilliam seized the opportunity to ask for recall, once more in vain.<sup>(4)</sup> The month of December 1521 is a blank in the Letters and Papers as far as Fitzwilliam's reports are concerned, and when they resume in January 1522, campaigning was over and his much desired recall had come. On 23 January his replacement, Sir Thomas Cheyne, reached the court at Rouen and presented his credentials in an atmosphere of great cordiality. Fitzwilliam returned home, followed by commendations from the French and

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(1) L.P.III; 1602, 1631, (2) L.P.III; 1625, 1643. (3) L.P.III; 1631. (4) L.P.III; 1698, 1702, 1707, 1797.

from Cheyne, who cited the gentlemen of the French court as having high opinions of the last ambassador. He had several times earned commendation from king and cardinal. His first mission had lasted almost thirteen months.<sup>(1)</sup>

A thorough Francophil, Cheyne may have spent part of his youth in France. Like most ambassadors to France at this time he had much to do with Louise of Savoy, who wrote of him as a man of sense and much inclined to friendship with France.<sup>(2)</sup> After a month at St. Germain, whence Fitzwilliam had taken his leave, Francis made a leisurely move through Champagne and south to Lyons. Cheyne sent his steady stream of daily reports home, both to Wolsey and the king,<sup>(3)</sup> and received occasional despatches from England. These could cause him trouble. At one point he had to see Francis, who was three leagues away, and Louise, who would be sixty leagues distant before he could reach her by the painful expedient of riding post. He made the effort but after two stages could get no horses and turned back. Francis provided him with letters to enable him to hire horses at each town or village, and armed with these he made the journey.<sup>(4)</sup> It is possible that the king and his mother were deliberately separate in order to delay the English mediation for a Hapsburg-Valois truce, which elaborate farce was being played out to the end.

French cordiality soon evaporated and Cheyne found his mission increasingly difficult. By the second week of April his morale was weakening - "so far from friends" and his money almost spent. He begged for his recall, saying that he had not wit or experience for great matters.<sup>(5)</sup>

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(1) L.P.III; 1991-2, 2000. (2) L.P.III; 2000. (3) L.P.III; 2092, 2112, 2116, 2139, 2158, 2161. (4) L.P.III; 2116.  
 (5) L.P.III; 2224-5.

In May came fresh instructions in which Wolsey showed his hand. Unless Francis accepted the emperor's terms for a truce, Cheyne was to "desire licence to depart." Clarencieux herald, sent specially for the purpose, would then make formal defiance.<sup>(1)</sup> The declaration of war was made and Cheyne left Lyons, being exchanged with the French ambassador to England when the latter reached Calais.<sup>(2)</sup> His mission had failed, but it had never been meant to succeed.

The war continued until 1525, when the French catastrophe at Pavia led to a shake-up in the European diplomatic scene. The first reaction by Henry and Wolsey was to dream of an allied invasion and perhaps even dismemberment of France. Henry considered taking the field in person. In April Fitzwilliam and Sir Robert Wingfield were sent to the Netherlands to congratulate Margaret of Savoy on Charles V's victory and to propose an attack on France. At the same time Wingfield's brother Richard was with Cuthbert Tunstall making similar proposals to Charles in Madrid. There were three weeks of ineffectual negotiation with the regent at Mechlin. The suggested invasion can scarcely have received serious consideration by the imperialists and without their participation there was not much point in the English request to be allowed to raise horse and foot and hire horses, waggons and drivers for the artillery. On 20 May, much out of pocket, Fitzwilliam left Mechlin for his command at Guisnes.<sup>(3)</sup>

It was clear that Charles was not going to let England reap the fruits of his victory. It soon became equally clear that the English people were not going to finance

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(1) L.P.III; 2243, 2290. (2) L.P.III. 2290-1, 2326. (→) C.S.P. Venetian 1520-26; 465. (3) L.P.IV; 1262, 1269, 1275, 1301, 1307-8, 1312, 1320, 1322, 1333, 1346, 1350.

any more invasions of France. Wolsey's next step was the obvious but unsound one of turning to the former enemy. France in her extremity was only too willing and in August 1525 the treaty "at the More" (Moor Park) was made. To receive the oath of ratification from Louise of Savoy, regent during her son's imprisonment in Spain, Fitzwilliam and John Tayler, one of the royal chaplains, were sent to the French court. Late in October Tayler crossed to Calais where he was joined by Fitzwilliam and they rode southward together. Fitzwilliam's sickness delayed them and it was late in November that they entered Lyons in a cavalcade sixty strong. The ratification was soon complete but their charge included other business which had not been completed by mid-December. On the plea of illness and financial difficulty Fitzwilliam secured his release and in January 1526 went home, leaving Tayler as resident. Tayler expressed to Wolsey his gratitude at having been joined on what appears to have been his first mission with someone as able, diligent and well acquainted with the French tongue and court as Fitzwilliam was.<sup>(1)</sup>

In March 1526, as a consequence of the treaty of Madrid Francis was released. To congratulate him Henry sent to France Sir Thomas Cheyne, who was also to try to find out the details of the treaty, to "wean" Francis from it and to secure his ratification of the treaty at the More.<sup>(2)</sup> Unable to get sufficient post horses and intent on speed, Cheyne reduced his company to two servants and was at Bordeaux, very weary, by 6 April, having covered about four hundred and sixty miles in ten days.<sup>(3)</sup> A few days later he was presented to Francis, whose first words were, "I

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(1) L.P.IV:1617, 1705, 1724, 1758, 1780, 1783, 1815, 1823-4, 1837, 1850, 1880, 1901-2-3, 1916, C.S.P.Spanish 1525-6 p.483, C.S.P.Venetian 1520-6;1173. (2) L.P.IV;2037-8-9

(3) L.P.III;2137(dated 1522 in error), IV;2075, 2079.

like your coming a good deal better now than I did at your last being with us", and bade him regard himself as one of his own gentlemen as he was Henry's, with liberty to come to him at all hours. Cheyne did not take the compliment literally, but Francis was determined to do him honour and on a later occasion made him present the towel when the royal hands were washed.<sup>(1)</sup>

With France at a serious though only temporary disadvantage and really needing English support, the lot of the ambassadors must have been comparatively easy. As usual it was necessary to keep in touch with the king's mother and his sister as well, if French policy was to be understood. Cheyne and Tayler spent a week in official social duties, supping with the admiral, dining with the grand master and the treasurer and visiting the king and Louise. "So far as we can see, you can order anything you like here" they wrote to Wolsey.<sup>(2)</sup>

The court soon moved north towards Cognac in the king's native Angoulême. Francis made a leisurely journey by water, but Cheyne and Tayler went the shortest way by road as lodging was scarce. At Blaye on the Gironde occurred an incident which showed that Anglo-French friendship did not go very deep, and that ambassadors were prepared to intervene on behalf of their prince's subjects. English ships going up the Gironde to Bordeaux were obliged to leave their guns at Blaye. While Cheyne and Tayler were there, a Cornish boat arrived and sent ashore a party which was stoned from the castle on its way in. They promptly complained to the captain of the castle, who was probably astonished at such weighty and rapid support for

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(1)L.P.IV;2087,2092. (2)L.P.IV;2133,2164.

the victims of a casual piece of malice. He produced two alleged culprits but Tayler suspected that they were scapegoats and pardoned them.<sup>(1)</sup>

At Cognac Francis made his oath of ratification and Cheyne was shortly afterwards recalled, leaving on 27 May 1526. It seems to have been customary for a replacement or colleague left by a returning ambassador to make an assessment on him when he went home. These reports were usually favourable, since the man at home would be able to make counter charges if need be. Tayler's letter to Wolsey is full of goodwill and praise for Cheyne. "I shall have great lack of his gentle company ... he hath behaved himself very substantially, and hath been familiarly admitted to the court ... hath expeditely the French language ... faithful diligence ... frequent writing."<sup>(2)</sup>

Later in 1526 Fitzwilliam was once more, briefly, in France. He crossed to Calais with Lord Sandys who was to take from him the command at Guisnes. He then went into France in special embassy in company with the then resident, John Clerk, the bishop of Bath.<sup>(3)</sup> The main business was negotiation for a closer alliance and a marriage of Francis to princess Mary. Fitzwilliam spent Christmas with the court at Poissy and left for home in the second week of January 1527.<sup>(4)</sup>

Next month Anthony Browne was sent to France in company with George Boleyn, Lord Rochford. Clerk was still resident and after Rochford's brief stay, Browne and Clerk followed the court for a month or two until in July 1527 Wolsey himself crossed to Calais.<sup>(5)</sup> He hoped to use the shock of horror arising from the sack of Rome and the

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(1) L.P. IV; 2133, 2164. (2) C.S.P. Venetian 1520-26; 1270, L.P. IV. 2205. State Papers Henry VIII VI. pt. V. p. 536. (3) L.P. IV; 1580, 1752, 2611, ~~2724-5~~, 2724-5, 2727. (4) L.P. IV; 2728, 2772, 2790, 2799, 2808. (5) L.P. IV; 3185 et seq., 3247, 3328, C.S.P. Venetian 1527-33; II2, Hall Chronicle p. 724.



captivity of the pope to obtain a meeting of cardinals in France and powers for himself which would, inter alia, enable him to grant Henry the divorce he now desired. Wolsey came to Paris but met no success. Clerk now returned home and for a while Browne was resident. He was now showing strong anti-French feeling in his letters home, and Francis' hounds, his style of hunting, the beauty of his mistress and the ceremonies of the order of St. Michael all came under adverse criticism.<sup>(1)</sup> Later in the year the two kings enrolled each other in their premier orders of chivalry. Browne, with Lord Lisle and others was commissioned to invest Francis, who received the collar, mantle, garter and statutes of the English order and expressed himself deeply gratified. When the investing mission came home Browne came with it.<sup>(2)</sup>

The most extended diplomatic journey which we have to consider had been made by Wallop in the years 1526-7. Suleiman the Magnificent's invasion of Hungary brought pleas for help to the western Christian powers, and Wolsey agreed to contribute money. Wallop was chosen to convey it and in September 1526 he reached Antwerp and was met by the English agent there, John Hacket, who arranged the exchange of the English money through German bankers.<sup>(3)</sup> News of the Hungarian disaster at Mohacs was now reaching the west and at the end of the month Wallop was at Cologne awaiting instructions for the new situation.<sup>(4)</sup> Early in October he was able to send home details about the defeat and death of the king of Hungary.<sup>(5)</sup>

By the usual standards of reporting expected of ambassadors Wallop wrote home most infrequently, probably as a

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(1) L.P. IV; 3368. (2) L.P. IV; 3472, 3508, 3547, 3574. C.S.P. Venetian 1527-33; 213. (3) L.P. IV; 2485, 2492, 2497, 2652-3, (4) L.P. IV; 2530. (5) L.P. IV; 2554.

consequence of the difficulty of finding the actual means of despatch. He wrote on 30 September by a servant, on 8 October by a Steelyard merchant, on 16 October by way of Hacket at Brussels, on 3 November, when he was able to deny the rumour that Vienna had fallen, and on 17 and 30 November.<sup>(1)</sup> He left Cologne in mid December and travelled by way of Bingen, near Mainz, to Augsburg, where he wrote on 12 January 1527 of the ultimately successful efforts of the archduke Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, to be elected king of Hungary and Bohemia in succession to his wife's brother.<sup>(2)</sup> In February he was in Prague and next month Ferdinand arrived for his coronation. Wallop was in difficulty in that his instructions were to go to the "voivode" of Hungary, who disputed the title to that country with Ferdinand. Ferdinand was affable and visited the cathedral with Wallop on St. George's day to do honour to the quarter, but it was hardly to be expected that he would allow Wallop to go further into Hungary than Presburg, where he visited the widow of the late king.<sup>(3)</sup>

In frustration he turned aside into Poland and visited the king, probably at Cracow. Sigismund told him that he was the first English ambassador in Poland.<sup>(4)</sup> In May he was in Breslau and in July in Vienna.<sup>(5)</sup> The last reference to this interesting embassy is in August 1527 when Hacket in Ghent reported receiving despatches for sending on to Wolsey. When he returned is not known but he was back in the court by the new year.<sup>(6)</sup>

Wallop was soon abroad again on a brief visit to congratulate Francis I on recovery from an illness. He was in France in February 1528.<sup>(7)</sup>

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(1) L.P. IV; 2536, 2590, 2603, 2668. (2) L.P. IV; 2711, 2718, 2798.

(3) L.P. IV; 2960-1, 3067. (4) L.P. IV; 3103, 3126, 3255-6.

(5) L.P. IV; 3126, 3255-6. (6) L.P. IV; 3353, 3748.

(7) L.P. IV; 3873, 3930, 4034, Appx. 1489, p. 3145.

Later in 1528 there was talk of Fitzwilliam being sent to France, but it was not until the following year that he went. Wolsey, his foreign policy on the brink of collapse with a Hapsburg-Valois peace in the offing, wished to go in person to make a bid to re-establish his influence with the French, but Henry would have none of it, despatching instead Suffolk and Fitzwilliam.<sup>(1)</sup> In Paris where Wolsey's son, Thomas Winter, dean of Wells, gave them comfortable lodging, they found matters in serious case. Fitzwilliam was sent home to report to the king and returned with fresh instructions. The English were most disturbed by news that negotiations were to be opened at Cambrai and made great but vain efforts to prevent them. Fitzwilliam and Suffolk were back home before the "Ladies Peace" was signed on 5 August 1529.<sup>(2)</sup>

In December 1530 Chapuys reported that Browne, Rochford and Nicholas Carew had been sent to attend the coronation of Francis' new queen. The Letters and Papers and other sources are silent on this matter and the mission may not have taken place.<sup>(3)</sup>

In March 1532, again according to Chapuys, Wallop was intended for resident ambassador in France, and in April his appointment was made.<sup>(4)</sup> He presumably began his official duties in September, for he was paid diets from the middle of that month.<sup>(5)</sup> In October he and his wife were in Henry's train in the visit to Calais.<sup>(6)</sup>

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- (1) L.P. IV; 5028, 5053. In Fitzwilliam's house at Cowdray was a painting of "The Duke of Suffolk and I, Earl of Southampton, being sent in ambassade in .. unto the French king to treat of matters of great secrecy." Gentleman's Magazine LXIII pt. ii. p. 996.
- (2) L.P. IV; 5535, 5541, 5547, 5562, 5579, 5582, 5597-8, 5646-8, 5675, 5679, 5696, 5701, 5719, 5741. (3) C.S.P. Spanish IV. pt 1. p. 584. (4) L.P. V; 850, VI; 32, C.S.P. Venetian 1527-33; 1027. (5) L.P. V; 1600. (6) L.P. V; 1484, Chronicle of Calais p. 117.

References to Wallop as being at the French court begin in January 1533.<sup>(1)</sup> In April he was joined by Rochford and in May Norfolk arrived on a special mission accompanied by a number of courtiers, among them Browne. They were at Calais in May and followed the court southward across France. The object of the visit was to attend the meeting between pope and French king which was to take place at Nice, and to try to prevent any agreement being reached.<sup>(2)</sup> The meeting failed to take place at the advertised time and by August the duke had returned to Calais.<sup>(3)</sup> The task was left to Wallop and Sir Francis Brian, who were later joined by Stephen Gardiner. It was 11 October before the pope arrived.<sup>(4)</sup>

Wallop was in London for a while in June 1534, but his commission as resident ambassador evidently continued until March 1537. His reports for this embassy have almost totally disappeared and its course must be reconstructed from copies of letters to him, mainly instructions, his private correspondence with Lisle at Calais, and incidental references.<sup>(5)</sup>

During this period Fitzwilliam made his last diplomatic mission. In April 1534, accompanied by Rochford, himself a "French" expert and son to the first English resident there, he was sent to stir up Francis against both pope and emperor. The visit was of propaganda value rather than a serious negotiation. At Coucy they were greeted warmly by Francis and attended celebrations of the Garter festival, probably specially arranged, on St. George's day. They left a few days later, taking handsome gifts with them. When they reached home a show was

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(1) C.S.P. Venetian 1527-33; L.P. VI; 101, 110, 111. (2) L.P. VI; 230, 391, Hall Chronicle p. 797. (3) L.P. VI; 631, 638, 811, 891, Chronicle of Calais p. 44. (4) L.P. VI; 954, 1218, 1338, 1400. (5) L.P. VII; 797.

made of the occasion. The king dined in public and declared to the guests that he was bound to give thanks to God.<sup>(1)</sup> He was indeed, for the Hapsburg-Valois rivalry was the chief guarantee of England's safety.

Accredited though he was to the French king, Wallop's sympathies were pro-imperial. Chapuys believed this in 1535, telling his master that Wallop's letters continually urged his government to friendship with the emperor.<sup>(2)</sup> In May 1535 he was ordered to have conversations with Charles' ambassador on matters causing friction between their masters, such as Henry's appeal to a general council and the treatment of Katherine and her daughter.<sup>(3)</sup> Wallop had, in fact, already begun such talks the previous winter, according to French sources on his own initiative. He had declared that many in England regretted the substitution of a French for an imperial alliance. Neither ambassador had been reprovved by his government.<sup>(4)</sup> Later in 1535 Stephen Gardiner was sent to France to join Wallop. By the end of August they were both seeking to be recalled. It was pointed out that to relieve both at once would be most inconvenient, but in consideration of Wallop's long service he could come home, making an excuse to visit the French king's camp (war with the empire had broken out in March) and such fortresses as he could safely manage, and report on their condition.<sup>(5)</sup>

In fact Wallop either did not return home or his visit was of the swiftest kind, for in October he was still with Gardiner. In January 1537 they both were in the marriage procession of the king of Scots to Notre Dame.<sup>(6)</sup> But at the end of the month they were both recalled, and

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(1) L.P.VIII;531 (misdated 1535 in L.P.) VII;469,470,505, 546,662, C.S.P.Spanish V;pt.1.p.132 (2) L.P.VIII;263,827  
 (3) L.P.VIII;725. (4) E.Bapst Deux Gentilhommes Poètes pp. 112-3. (5) L.P.IX;443,498(3),838,Appx.7-8, X;54, XI;445.  
 (6) L.P.XI;656,984,1091,1130,1305,1342, XII.i.12.

Wallop at once, to see the inheritance which had come to him from his uncle, and Gardiner when the new resident, Sir Thomas Wyatt should arrive. Wallop was home by mid March.<sup>(1)</sup>

Browne's last embassy to France, in fact his last anywhere, was a special visit in 1538, when Edmund Bonner, bishop of Hereford was ambassador resident.<sup>(2)</sup> The international situation held danger for England, with Francis and Charles again moving towards a truce. Henry countered with offers of marriage alliance to both sides, but without success. In October Mary of Hungary, regent of the Netherlands, arrived at Compiègne for a meeting with Francis. Browne, sent out in haste and ill equipped to follow a restless court, was very upset with the ill lodging and cool treatment afforded Bonner and himself in a country where he had hitherto been treated well. He asked for recall. Henry reacted at once to suggestion of insult to himself through bad treatment of his ambassador and Browne was ordered to make a pointed withdrawal.<sup>(3)</sup> The French, through Castillon, their ambassador, took an injured attitude, complaining of Browne's negotiating methods and abrupt departure, but Henry showed great irritation and said that Browne had done nothing he had not been charged to do. The most that he would admit was that Francis had perhaps no personal knowledge of the way Browne had been used. Browne himself visited Castillon to complain of bad treatment and that his conduct had been misrepresented in a letter from Francis to Henry.<sup>(4)</sup>

A few weeks later, after the pope had ordered the execution of a bull of excommunication against Henry, the

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(1)L.P.XII.i.274,443,525,647. (2)L.P.XIII.ii.398,442,  
Addenda 1355. (3)L.P.XIII.ii.557,615,639,640-2.  
 (4)L.P.XIII.ii.642,748,752-3.

English tone changed completely. Gardiner, Brian and Browne, former ambassadors, became whipping boys for Cromwell and the king. Cromwell told Castillon that had Browne not mixed his private quarrels and passions about his meagre reception with the affairs of his commission, he would have received promotion, but now he must rest content with what he had. The royal pleasure was withdrawn from Browne for the most momentary period. Two days after Cromwell's statement, he was promoted master of the horse in place of Sir Nicholas Carew.<sup>(1)</sup>

Browne was subsequently regarded as a storm-bird by the French, although he never went as ambassador again. In August 1542 there was talk of his going and Marillac, French ambassador, thought this portended trouble because of Browne's anti-French sentiments. Francis felt that his arrival would be the prelude to a declaration of war.<sup>(2)</sup>

Wallop's last embassy was also to France. In February 1540 he was at his post in Calais when he was warned to make ready to go to France as resident. Bonner, who was there, had made himself very unpopular and given great affront to Francis by his words. Marillac was told to demand the bishop's recall. It was granted without difficulty for it had already been decided upon. Norfolk, on special mission to the French court had realised the situation and urged Cromwell to replace Bonner by Wallop.<sup>(3)</sup> On 21 February, having ridden post from Calais, Wallop reached Abbeville.<sup>(4)</sup>

During this last embassy Wallop had to deal with two extradition cases. Ten year old Gerald Fitzgerald, son of the ninth earl, and himself ultimately eleventh earl,

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(1) D.P. XIII.ii.1120,1163, XIV.i.37. (2) L.P. XVII;630-1, 654,667,755. (3) L.P. XV;186,208,223-4,240,285,332,429, 543,574, (4) L.P. XV;240.

of Kildare, was wanted by the English government, presumably that he might be brought up in England. His tutor, Thomas Leverous, had succeeded in getting him from Ireland to Brittany. Wallop sent an agent into that duchy to make enquiries. He did not secure the boy, but seems to have got hold of somebody, for he issued a certificate in June 1540 that "this prisoner has been lawfully arrested and sent to England." When young Fitzgerald reached the French court, Wallop demanded his surrender of Francis but the king arranged his flight to Valenciennes, then in Netherlands territory. Wallop sent an agent after him, who was arrested, and Leverous sent him to the emperor at Brussels. Henry's enmity pursued him and at last Reginald Pole got him to Italy, where he was well educated.<sup>(1)</sup>

In July 1540, when the court was at Rouen, a young man asked Wallop's steward if he could speak with the ambassador, saying he had been long in a Paris prison and wanted help to get to England. This, Wallop wrote to Norfolk, was he who called himself "Blanche Rose". What was he to do? It does not appear whether the one time Yorkist claimant knew that Wallop was aware of his identity when he sought his help. At all events he thought better of it for the next we hear is that Wallop was trying to get him extradited. He was still trying in November, and at one point had caused himself needless anxiety. There arrived a letter from Henry upbraiding him for slackness in his efforts to secure Blanche Rose. He wrote back to the king expressing his fears, without reading the accompanying letter which contained his real instructions and explained that the reprimand was only for showing to Francis if he

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(1) R. Bagwell Tudor Ireland I, pp. 217-9. L.P. XV; 704, 739, Holinshed Chronicle VI; p. 305.



should need to use it; "whereby you may learn hereafter to read or hear the whole of every matter before you shall make thereof any determination or judgement" being the reproof he earned for himself in due time.<sup>(1)</sup>

The year ended on a more successful note for Wallop, for he got wind of an important matter between Francis and the emperor which he was able to verify from his friend and helper, Margaret of Navarre, earning commendation from the king. During this embassy he had considerable contact both with Margaret and with the king's mistress, Madame D'Estampes.<sup>(2)</sup> Early in 1541 Wallop was warned of his recall. He was relieved by Lord William Howard and left in February, to be arrested on his arrival in England. Subsequently pardoned, he never again served as an ambassador.<sup>(3)</sup>

Thomas Cheyne, after two embassies to France in the fifteen-twenties, was sent no more as ambassador for two decades. Then came the Anglo-French peace of 1546, followed at once by an invitation to the English king to be godfather to the new born daughter of Henry the dauphin. The king accepted and sent Cheyne to represent him.<sup>(4)</sup> Cheyne's commission seems to have been confined strictly to taking the king's place at the font. There is no sign of negotiation or conversations of any sort. It was, in fact, a ceremonial embassy.

Cheyne left the court at Greenwich in June. His party included York herald and required upwards of twenty-five horses. His instructions were supplemented by a special caution from the council as to how his young gentlemen should conduct themselves, not beginning discussions

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(1)L.P.XVI;115. (2)L.P.XVI;306,318. (3)L.P.XVI;427.

L.P.XVI;204,276, provide good illustration of the life of an ambassador and the difficulties he faced.

(4)L.P.XXI.i.1058,1067,1071. Wriothesley Chronicle p.167

about events in the late war, but if Frenchmen did so they were to ascribe them to the fortune of war and turn the conversation toward peace. They would be under hostile scrutiny by the religious because of the destruction of religious houses in England so they must be particularly careful to avoid disputes about faith and must observe fast days and hear mass according to the English order.<sup>(1)</sup> They travelled by barge from Greenwich to Gravesend and then rode post by Rochester and Canterbury to Dover. They crossed to newly conquered Boulogne and posted via Montreuil, Abbeville, Amiens, Breteuil, Clermont and Luzarches to Paris.<sup>(2)</sup> Here they were delayed both by sickness in Cheyne and the need for repairs to the king's chief christening gift, a salt. When he was able to continue the party went up the Seine to Corbeille and Melun. After being met at the waterside by court officials he was conducted into the forest of Fontainbleu, where Francis was hunting. Here he was met by the king, the dauphin, and his wife (Katherine de Medici), and twenty or thirty great ladies, many of them "excellentfair". He was given a princely welcome, dined at the king's table and in the afternoon, chatting with the dauphiness, rode with the royal party to Fontainbleu, where as it neared the castle it was saluted with salvoes of artillery. There he found great preparations for the christening, with tournaments, balls and "other triumphs and high cheer." He and his gentlemen were lavishly entertained. Francis declared that in his heart he had never broken his friendship with Henry and never would. He treated Cheyne in the most familiar fashion and the dauphin went

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(1)L.P.XXI.i.1080,1086,1093-4. (2)L.P.XXI.i.1235,1346,

daily dressed in the Tudor colours of green and white.<sup>(1)</sup>

The baptism took place on a Sunday afternoon. Cheyne carried the infant princess to the font and the name given to her was Isabelle, the French form of Elizabeth, the name chosen by Henry. The English king's gifts were a jasper cup, a clock with a crystal cover and a gold salt cellar on a chased gold stand with a gold cover on which stags and other animals were carved. Gifts of money and gold chains were made to the baby's attendants, among whom were the lady mistress of her household, the midwife, the nurse and the rockers.<sup>(2)</sup> At supper that night the English envoy was placed at the king's left hand, served with covered dishes and a covered cup and treated just as Henry would have been, save that he would have been on the right hand of the host.<sup>(3)</sup> Next day the king, the dauphin, the admiral of France and a company of ladies came under his window in three boats "singing as sweetly as ever I heard, the king himself being one of them that sang. Such a triumph at a christening as I think was never seen nor heard as this is like to be."<sup>(4)</sup>

After a brief delay caused by a fall in hunting, he returned home with a gift of plate worth five or six thousand crowns. He had undoubtedly enjoyed his mission to the full and returned singing the praises of the reception he had received. "And I think, and God himself and all his apostles were here, they could not have been welcomed after a better and more hearty sort, nor better entertained, than I and all the gentlemen in my company have been."<sup>(5)</sup> It was to be his last mission to France.

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(1)L.P.XXI.i.1185,1200. (2)L.P.XXI.i.1200,1086.

(3)L.P.XXI.i.1200. (4)L.P.XXI.i.1201. (5)L.P.XXI.i.1239, 1292,1346,1303,1185,1316.

Cheyne's last two embassies were short visits to the emperor, made at an interval of nearly four years, but somewhat similar in nature. On the evening of the day in which Warwick and his faction in the council struck at protector Somerset, Cheyne and Dr. Wootton were sent to the imperial ambassador to inform him of the coup. Cheyne and Sir Philip Hoby were then sent to the emperor with instructions to get his aid in the defence of Boulogne. Cheyne sought from and obtained a letter by the ambassador to the emperor, the formal terms of which introduced him as a good gentleman of great reputation, the eldest of the council and named expressly by the late king as a councillor. (The last point was not strictly the case.) Privately the ambassador informed Charles that Cheyne was of the old religion and chosen for his seniority in the council and proficiency in the French tongue.<sup>(1)</sup>

The dates of this mission are not on record, but Charles wrote an account from Brussels to his ambassador in England on 27 November. The Englishmen had given their account of Somerset's fall and asked for permission to raise troops, carts and provisions in imperial territory. Charles offered no help of any significance, but hoped that Boulogne would be held not only out of affection for Edward VI but for the councillors' sakes, that the king might not have cause of complaint against them when he should come of age. He also took up with Cheyne the matter of religion in England, urging a return to Henry VIII's settlement and that Mary should be given freedom to worship as she pleased.<sup>(2)</sup>

The second mission to the emperor at Brussels took place immediately after Mary Tudor had entered London as

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(1) C.S.P. Spanish IX. pp. 457, 462, 464. C.S.P. Domestic 1547-80. p. 26. (2) C.S.P. Spanish IX. p. 478, X. pp. 39, 57. Burnet Reformation II. ii. p. 12.

queen. Cheyne was sent as a special ambassador to act with the resident. Mary's relationship with Charles, her cousin, king of her mother's native Spain and her supporter and where possible protector in her times of trouble, was close enough for her to confide in his ambassadors her doubts about her own, Cheyne. She did not wish to trust him fully, though he professed to be a devoted imperialist and always had done so. The ambassadors passed this on without comment, though ten years before Chapuys had deeply distrusted Cheyne as Francophil, and this can scarcely have been forgotten.

Cheyne's mission was to thank Charles for past friendship, to give details of the happy issue of the queen's accession and to make certain declarations. He had only one formal interview with the emperor. To mark the court's happiness on Mary's behalf, the regent gave a banquet to the English envoys. "Besides the consideration owing to them, the thought of the queen was enough to prompt us to do something unusual in their honour ..."(1) Among matters undoubtedly discussed with Mary of Hungary and perhaps with Charles himself was that of the queen's marriage. On his former visit Cheyne had tried to show by his expression that Charles' suggestion of the infante of Portugal was unacceptably demeaning, but 1553 was not 1549. Now the emperor's first given opinion was that she should marry one of her own subjects, but Mary was set on wedding a Spaniard. The emperor was not loath and in December 1553 a special embassy arrived in England to settle the business of Mary's marriage with his son Philip. It was received at Dover by Thomas Cheyne, the lord warden of the Cinque ports.(2)

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(1) Chronicle of Queen Jane(etc.) p.175. C.S.P.Spanish XI pp.152-3,155,163,166,231,298. C.S.P.Foreign 1553-8 pp.7-8. (2) C.S.P.Spanish XI pp.236,424.

## Chapter X    Military Service

In Tudor England military service was not a special profession. The absence of a standing army meant that no Englishman could become a full time soldier unless he was among the handful who garrisoned a few border fortresses, or unless he took service abroad. There was no dichotomy between military and civil service. The soldier could be a councillor or administrator, and the councillor or administrator could turn soldier without any sense of unfitness, and these changes could be rung repeatedly.

In times of national danger all able bodied men were liable to be mustered in arms. This obligation came from the primitive tradition that the army was the tribe or people in arms, a tradition which had survived alongside and outlasted the feudal military organization. Such musters were officered by the local landowners, with the higher commands usually entrusted to councillors and household officials. From the later years of Henry VIII the musters in each county came under a new and permanent officer, the lord lieutenant, also, as we might expect, usually a councillor or from the household. The defence of the realm from civil broil or external attack was managed by the crown as it managed all other aspects of government. It employed the local gentry under the direction of those close about the king, used for preference in districts where they had roots or influence. When the northern rebellion of 1536 broke out, the king sent Suffolk with other lords and gentlemen who "had lands or rule thereabouts" to suppress it.<sup>(1)</sup> Among

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(1)L.P.XI;656.

Suffolk's senior officers were Fitzwilliam, himself a high officer of the realm, and Russell, Brian, Browne and Cromwell's nephew, Richard Cromwell, all gentlemen of the privy chamber. Assisting Norfolk to assemble the reserves at Ampthill were Lords Exeter and Sandys, Sir William Paulet and Sir William Kingston, all household officials.

This predominance of the royal household in the military sphere is noticeable in this period, but was not new. It has been pointed out that the management of war was still considered a matter so personal to the king that the household was naturally employed in looking to it.<sup>(1)</sup> It appears not only in home defence but in wars at sea and beyond the sea. High commands went to important councillors and a fair proportion of their subordinates were members of the household. Fitzwilliam, Wallop and Cheyne, king's spears in the early years of Henry VIII, had commands as ship captains or captains of companies in that king's first two wars with France. The spears were in abeyance in the middle years of the reign but were revived as the gentlemen pensioners in 1539-40. Of the thirty five officers named in Wallop's 1543 expedition against the French, ten were gentlemen pensioners and five were gentlemen of the privy chamber. This strong leaven of household men must have helped maintain loyalty to the king. They were his men and he was personally their master and always potentially their commander in the field, although it is strange that Henry VIII, a monarch who thought highly of his own military skill, led his forces in only one campaign, that of 1513. His presence at the siege of Boulogne was as king alone and

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(1) G.R.Elton The Tudor Revolution in Government. p.373

not commander, which business he left to Suffolk.

Four of our six men played active parts in the wars of Henry VIII and his two immediate successors. They were councillors and men of the household, and they were to be found in arms against domestic rebels, against the French in Guienne, northern France and the low countries and at sea from Calais to Brest, against Scots on the Tweed, watching coasts and organizing defences, and having commands in Calais and its outlying fortresses.<sup>(1)</sup>

Fitzwilliam took part in Dorset's abortive expedition which was intended, in 1512, to launch an invasion of Guienne from Spain.<sup>(2)</sup> The next year, with Cheyne and Wallop, he was involved in the naval operations against France. Fitzwilliam served in the "Mary Rose", flagship of Sir Edward Howard, the admiral, who referred to him as one of his most trusted friends.<sup>(3)</sup> Cheyne had command of the "Christ" of King's Lynn, which was in commission from April to September, and Wallop had a similar ship, the impressed "Sanchio de Gara", a foreign vessel from her name.<sup>(4)</sup> All three took part in the action off Brest in May 1513 in which Howard lost his life. It was an English boat attack made in an endeavour to get at the French galleys sheltering in Brest harbour. Fitzwilliam was "sore hurt" by a crossbow quarrel in this fight.<sup>(5)</sup>

Wallop and Cheyne probably remained with the fleet for the rest of the season, but Fitzwilliam accompanied the king to France and at the end of the campaign was among those fifty who were knighted by the king at Tournai.<sup>(6)</sup>

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(1) The D.N.B. states that Wallop served under Poynings in the Netherlands in 1511 and was knighted. The authority cited, E. Herbert Henry VIII contains no such statement, and Herbert's source, Hall's Chronicle does not mention Wallop. (2) L.P.I; 1176, 1495-6. (3) Hall Chronicle p. 536. (4) L.P.I; 1664(3,4), 2304(3-5). (5) L.P.I; 1844, 1851, Hall Chronicle pp. 535-7, A. Spont. Letters and Papers p. 148 (6) L.P.I; 1870, 1885, 2053(5).



In January 1514 Wallop was with a company at Portsmouth in readiness to repel a possible French attack,<sup>(1)</sup> and when the fleet was commissioned in April he had the "Great Barbara", a new ship of Bristol.<sup>(2)</sup> Next month Pregent de Bidoux with the French galleys raided and burnt Brighton.<sup>(3)</sup> Since he could not intercept their return home, Surrey, the admiral, took vigorous reprisals, burning the country round Cherbourg and loosing Wallop on the Normandy coast, where he made so much smoke that at times Surrey's ships could not see the shore.<sup>(4)</sup>

The French war was over by August 1514 and two years inactivity seem to have been more than enough for Wallop. With a "reward" of £100 and a letter of recommendation, Henry sent him to king Manoel of Portugal, with whom he took service against the Moors at his own expense. He served honourably at Tangier for two years and was admitted to the order of Christ before he came home.<sup>(5)</sup>

By 1520 Fitzwilliam was vice-admiral to Surrey. As such he was responsible for fitting out the ships which transported Henry to the Cloth of Gold and for the ships which protected his crossing to Calais.<sup>(6)</sup> Throughout 1521 he was ambassador in France, and when he returned to England early in 1522 he was promptly immersed in preparations for war at sea. He was still vice-admiral and Hall comments on the energy with which the fleet was made ready by the beginning of April, while Polydore Vergil wrote that at the earliest opportunity a squadron put to sea under Fitzwilliam, a "valiant and energetic man."<sup>(7)</sup> War was declared on France at the end of April.

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(1) L.P.I; 2574. (2) L.P.I; 2686(1,2), 2842, 2938. (3) L.P.I; 2946, Holinshed Chronicle III.p.602. (4) L.P.I; 3000, Hall Chronicle p.569. (5) L.P.II; 2360, p.1472, A. Collins Peerage of England IV.p.291 et seq. (6) L.P.III; p.239, p.1540, 1009, (2268-9)-misdated 1522 in L.P. (7) L.P.III; 2073, 2193, Hall Chronicle p.632, Polydore Vergil History p.297.

When, on the eve of war, Charles V crossed to England to visit his brother monarch and to conclude treaties with him, Fitzwilliam commanded the fleet which escorted him across the Channel and seems to have considered the honour as one of the high lights of his career, for his house at Cowdray in later years contained a picture of the event.<sup>(1)</sup> The emperor brought to Dover, Fitzwilliam was to join Surrey at Southampton, where there was gathering a fleet whose ostensible purpose was to escort Charles to Spain but whose real object was to reinforce Calais and attack France.<sup>(2)</sup> Fitzwilliam found himself pent in the Downs by contrary winds, but made use of the time in reporting to the nautical minded king on the sailing qualities of the "Henry Grace Dieu", the "Mary Rose", which was his flagship, and his only galley, and consulting with his master mariners about the best winter harbour for the "Henry Grace Dieu", a prestige vessel which seems in reality to have been more trouble than use. She was jointly commanded by Wallop and Sir John Wiseman, one of his old comrades of 1514.<sup>(3)</sup> The weather continued bad and she suffered some damage to her rigging, but by 10 June Fitzwilliam's ships had reached Southampton.<sup>(4)</sup> For the rest of the month the fleet prepared at Portsmouth, during which time the admiral and Fitzwilliam with two captains visited Dartmouth and reported enthusiastically on its suitability as a winter haven for the great ships.<sup>(5)</sup>

At the beginning of July Surrey suddenly struck. He descended on Morlaix in Brittany. His force included the "Great Nicholas" under Anthony Browne, probably his first

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(1) C.S.P. Spanish Further Supplement pp.97,123. Gentlemen's Magazine LXIII.ii.p.996. (2) L.P.III;2213

(3) L.P.I.(F1) . . . . ., III;2302,2307-8.

(5) L.P.III;2} . . . . . P.III;2355.

command.<sup>(1)</sup> Fitzwilliam and Browne were in the force landed by Surrey which stormed and burnt the town, leagured outside it for the night and then embarked and sailed without molestation.<sup>(2)</sup> Browne was among those knighted by Surrey after this exploit. According to Polydore Vergil, most of the fleet was then disbanded, leaving in commission under Fitzwilliam only a small coast defence squadron.<sup>(3)</sup> In August he was co-operating with a Spanish fleet in covering the crossing of Spanish troops from Sandwich to Calais.<sup>(4)</sup>

Like a good commander, Fitzwilliam was always hungry for information, and one of his despatches at this time gives a sample of his methods. He sent three ships to Seine mouth to look into Le Havre. They observed the fortifications and ordnance and noticed that the great ships had not got their top-masts on, indicating their unreadiness for sea. They also saw a number of smaller vessels in the harbour mouth but too close inshore to be "meddled with", which shows that Fitzwilliam's scouts were expected to take prisoners where they could. Fitzwilliam himself picked up a boat going from Treport to Rye to collect French prisoners, presumably ransomed. The crew was questioned separately and then battened under hatches for the night, with a Jersey man planted among them, pretending to be a Norman awaiting ransom, to learn what he could.<sup>(5)</sup>

At the end of August Fitzwilliam received orders to join Surrey at Calais where a land raid into France was in preparation.<sup>(6)</sup> He was placed under Lord Curzon in charge of the ordnance, or supply of weapons and other

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(1)L.P.I (First ed.)3980. L.P.(2)L.P.III;2362, Hall Chronicle p.642, Chronicle of Calais (ed.J.G.Nichols) p.31. (3)Polydore Vergil History p.298. (4)L.P.III; 2409,2434,2442,2458-9. (5)L.P.III;2459 (6)L.P.III; 2471.

munitions.<sup>(1)</sup> He presumably accompanied the army on its six weeks razzia to and from the Somme. Browne and Wallop commanded companies in this force and on the return journey Wallop was left at St.Omer with a thousand men to cover the retirement of the main body.<sup>(2)</sup>

The early months of 1523 were for Fitzwilliam largely a repetition of those of the year before. In January and again in April he was at Portsmouth, preparing the fleet and by May he was already at sea in command of thirty-six ships. His letter to Henry VIII on Whitsunday 24 May opens with a spirited defence against a complaint by Surrey. The document is much damaged but enough survives to show his independence of spirit and professional pride. He wrote tartly that he could not make ships sail without wind, nor anchors and cables hold where they would not, "and in case my lord admiral can, I would be right glad to learn in that behalf." He went on to report an assault he had that day made on the Norman town of Treport at the mouth of the Bresle. It stood on a high cliff, with the harbour on the other side. The only approach to the town was by a causeway wide enough for only six abreast and fortified with towers and bulwarks. On the shingle beach was a bulwark of old boats filled with shingle, with gaps for the defenders' fire. Fitzwilliam landed under fire, replied with archery and drove the beach defenders back into the town, capturing their guns. The town itself with guns on the causeway, walls and in an abbey, was too strong to take and one or two assaults were "sharply handled".<sup>(3)</sup> This attack was the principal naval exploit of 1523 and receives considerable attention from the chronicler, Hall. It is also recorded by Polydore Vergil. Hall

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(1)L.P.III;25 2475. (2)L.P.IV.Appx.p.3108, II;2614,2636, XVIII.i.216. (3)L.P.III;2793,2964,3046.

writes that the captain of the town fired the beacons when the English were sighted. The landing took place under fire at 7 a.m., the bulwarks being taken after fierce fighting with bravery on both sides. The English were only seven hundred against six thousand. They failed to batter in a gate with a piece of mast, so burned the suburbs and shipping in the harbour and retreated with prisoners and pillage, Fitzwilliam turning back his boat to bring off a number of his officers caught at the water edge by the French and having to fight to do so. The English were five hours ashore, took twenty seven pieces of ordnance and lost under twenty men.<sup>(1)</sup> It seems only reasonable to assume that the pieces of ordnance were hand guns, for a town like Treport would scarcely have as many as twenty cannons in all. While Hall's work sounds like an official apologia, Polydore Vergil's account is much shorter and more in keeping with Fitzwilliam's own report. He comments drily that Fitzwilliam did not come off without loss, "which happens when a man fails to find unprepared those whom he has rashly attacked."<sup>(2)</sup>

In July Fitzwilliam was at sea endeavouring to intercept the duke of Albany who was expected to sail from France to Scotland with an expedition. He gave chase to twelve Scotch ships, an advanced party of Albany's force under the archbishop of Glasgow, which left Dieppe. Two were driven ashore at Dieppe, two at Boulogne, and seven of the rest Fitzwilliam had bottled up in the latter place. After consultation with his captains and gunners he sent to Dover and Calais for equipment for a night attack. Unfortunately a westerly gale forced him to pull

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(1) Hall Chronicle p.660 (2) Polydore Vergil History p.313

off to avoid being caught on a lee shore, but he had hopes of success if the weather improved. "I would be glad to do the Scots some displeasure for their cracks and high words."<sup>(1)</sup> But the weather did not improve and an end was put to Fitzwilliam's blockade by shortage of victuals, a commonly recurring difficulty in naval warfare at this time. Albany got himself and his force to Scotland in September, but both Wolsey and the king considered that Fitzwilliam had done everything that he could have done.<sup>(2)</sup>

The main English effort by land in 1523 was Suffolk's advance into the valley of the Seine. Fitzwilliam may have taken part. It would have been possible for him to join the force at Calais before it set out on 19 September. His "retinue" was on the strength in August, but there is no certainty that he was with the army.<sup>(3)</sup> Cheyne and Wallop were both in the 15,000 strong force, the latter being marshal of the rearward. It burnt and plundered its way virtually unopposed, but since the emperor's forces made no move in support it became dangerously exposed and in December retired to Calais, losing some guns at Valenciennes.<sup>(4)</sup>

By 1524 England had withdrawn from any active part in the war. A small force of ships was at sea under a subordinate commander, but Fitzwilliam was sent to take up the command at Guisnes to which he had been appointed in May 1523. Guisnes was a powerful fortress and walled town that covered Calais against advance from the south.

(1)L.P.III;3237. (2)L.P.III;3248,3256,3270.(IV;575)-misp.

placed under 1525 in L.P. Hall, followed by Herbert, places the Treport raid as a sequel to the search for Albany, but Fitzwilliam's report is quite definitely dated Whitsunday. (3)L.P.III;3288. (4)L.P.III;3288, Chronicle of Calais ed J.G.Nichols p.33.Hall Chronicle p.662.

The war may have been dormant but at Guisnes there had to be constant vigilance, Fitzwilliam was as his post by early May, in good time for the campaigning season and thirsting for a French attack, but it was soon evident that they were not going to oblige him. Yet there was no need for idleness, and Fitzwilliam's reports to Wolsey are full of raids into France, French counter raids on Calais Pale and imperial Flanders, ambushes, skirmishes and attacks on minor strong points. Sometimes Fitzwilliam found himself acting in co-operation with Wallop, who was marshal at Calais.<sup>(1)</sup> The English garrisons, during the season, were augmented with the hired mercenaries who seem to have been a feature of most armies of the period. It was warfare on a small scale, the numbers involved being hundreds rather than thousands, but not the less fierce and cruel on that account. In November 1524, Fitzwilliam., Wallop and Robert Jernongham, the captain of Newnham Bridge, stormed a small castle and put the garrison of fifty three to the sword as a reward for an obstinate defence.<sup>(2)</sup> In the Boulonnais Fitzwilliam's men pursued some Frenchmen into a church and fired it. Eight men leapt out, piteously burned. Decent treatment for prisoners largely depended on their rank, while a spy could expect no mercy. Du Biez, captain of Boulogne, sent a woman to seduce one of Fitzwilliam's guides. She was by chance taken, and confessed her guilt. "I caused her to have a ghostly father and to be put in a sack, and drink her belly full of water, to give others ensample."<sup>(3)</sup>

Early in September 1524 there was a report that Henry

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(1) L.P.IV; 323-5, 330, Hall Chronicle pp. 678-82.

(2) Hall Chronicle p. 687. (3) L.P.IV; 418.

intended to send over an expeditionary force. Fitzwilliam was anxious to join it, but the proposal came to nothing. In the same month Jerningham reached Calais with reinforcements, but little was achieved with them for the men were troubled with dysentery. As frequently was the case, money for wages was lacking, even at Christmas time, which Fitzwilliam though deplorable. Nevertheless he continued his raids into France until the first week of December.<sup>(1)</sup>

The imperial ambassador once described the captain of Guisnes as the principal royal officer on that side of the Channel, and the place was indeed an important defence post and sally port.<sup>(2)</sup> It was also a listening post and collecting point for information on Europe generally. The captain had to know what sort of news the home government needed and it is perhaps not without significance that Fitzwilliam and Wallop, both in their time commanders of the fortress, had experience as ambassadors before hand. With his opposite number, the French commander at Boulogne, Fitzwilliam was usually on friendly terms, even in time of war.<sup>(3)</sup>

His last extant report from Guisnes is dated 26 December 1524 and he was not to be in active command there again. He probably returned to England during the winter. In the spring of 1525 there was a momentary intention that the king should invade France in person and Norfolk was to command an advance force with Fitzwilliam as his marshal, assisted by Cheyne; but this first English reaction to the news of Pavia was still-born.<sup>(4)</sup>

As we have seen, Wallop, marshal of Calais was engaged in active service in 1524. He was also at Calais in

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(1) L.P. IV; 616, 619-20, 734, 749, 920, 940. (2) C.S.P. Spanish III.1.p.212 (3) L.P. IV; 324, 380, 384. (4) L.P. IV; 1261



1525, as was Anthony Browne.<sup>(1)</sup> Wallop was promoted to the command of Calais castle in 1530 and appears to have carried out the duties in person for a period, for in October 1531 he was one of those commissioned to install a new commander at Hammes castle, and he was one of the signatories of the accounts of the payments for new fortifications at Calais from September 1531 to August 1532.<sup>(2)</sup>

The northern rising, or "Pilgrimage of Grace" of 1536 came at a time when Wallop was on embassy in France. Cheyne was listed to supply two or three hundred men and to attend on the king if he should take the field in person, but he does not seem to have left southern England at this time.<sup>(3)</sup> Browne and Fitzwilliam took active parts in suppressing the rebellion, which began in Lincolnshire early in October 1536. Suffolk was at once appointed the king's lieutenant to deal with the trouble and Fitzwilliam and others were ordered to accompany him with their retinues.<sup>(4)</sup> Fitzwilliam was at the time at Guildford and found the people of the district eager to serve the king. He could have had as many foot soldiers as he wished, but in the circumstances took only as many as could be provided with horses fit to cover forty miles a day.<sup>(5)</sup> By 9 October, a week after the rising broke out, he was at Aylesbury<sup>(6)</sup> and two evenings later rode into Stamford. Richard Cromwell wrote to Thomas that Fitzwilliam was so enthusiastic against the rebels that "I dare well say he would eat them with salt. I never saw one triumph like him ..."<sup>(7)</sup> At Stamford he found Suffolk with other officers. On 15 October the army moved through Grimsthorpe and next day Fitzwilliam and the vanguard entered a

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(1) Hall Chronicle p.687. (2) L.P.V;506(4),370, ~~etiam IV;1022~~. (3) L.P.XI;580. (4) L.P.XI;569,656. (5) L.P.XI;584. (6) L.P.XI;613. (7) L.P.XI;658.

sullenly quiet city of Lincoln.<sup>(1)</sup>

Almost at once there came news of a more serious insurrection in Yorkshire. Shrewsbury, who had been sent into that county, asked Suffolk for as many light horse under Fitzwilliam or Francis Brian as he could spare, but the duke would not let an eager Fitzwilliam go.<sup>(2)</sup> At first Fitzwilliam and Suffolk believed that they had enough men to deal with the new rising, aided by the local gentry as they expected to be, but they prudently asked for reinforcements.<sup>(3)</sup> By the end of October, after Norfolk's first conference with the insurgent leaders at Doncaster, Fitzwilliam thought the troubles were over. The rebels and traitors were "sparpled" and no longer kept the field. He had come north in haste without sufficient bedding or clothing and permission was given for him to return home. He joined the court at Windsor and a few weeks later went back to the north with Norfolk for the second meeting with the rebels.<sup>(4)</sup>

In the meantime Anthony Browne, who had been one of the Surrey notables required to attend on the king with a retinue, had been sent forward from Ampthill, where Norfolk had assembled the royal reinforcements, to join Suffolk with reinforcements of cavalry. He arrived as the Lincs rebellion was dying down and was disposed across northern Lincolnshire from Gainsborough to Grimsby, with his headquarters at Barton on Humber. His task was presumably to prevent the Yorkshire rebels from crossing the Humber. He arranged beacons so that he could signal his force to concentrate, collected what information he could and established contact with the governor of Hull.

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(1)L.P.XI;728,756. (2)L.P.XI;774,865 (3)L.P.XI;824,838  
(4)L.P.XI;914,986,1064.

Later in November his company was moved westward to Doncaster and Rotherham to hold the passages of the river Don.<sup>(1)</sup>

When Norfolk and Fitzwilliam returned from the south the rebels were not ready to negotiate, so the king suggested that the two men should employ their time in inspecting fortifications in the Nottingham area.<sup>(2)</sup> Norfolk and other commissioners, among them Fitzwilliam and Browne, met the rebels' representatives at Doncaster in the first week of December and as a result the host dispersed on a soon to be dishonoured pledge of pardon and redress of grievances. By the middle of the month Norfolk and his colleagues were with the court at Whitehall.<sup>(3)</sup>

As long as the Hapsburg-Valois rivalry remained active internal unrest, of which the 1536 rebellion was the most dangerous example, was a greater threat to Henry than external hostility. It was the temporary reconciliation of Charles V and Francis I by the treaty of Nice in 1538 that made the papal bull of excommunication on the English king a danger to be reckoned with. The possibility of invasion was taken very seriously and led to defensive preparations which reached feverish proportions as the spring approached in 1539. In March Wallop was sent to his captaincy of Calais castle and was among those deputed to inspect defences at Calais and Guisnes, where the garrisons were significantly increased.<sup>(4)</sup> He was at Calais until February 1540.<sup>(5)</sup> Browne, appointed master of the horse in January 1539, was presumably mostly at court. Fitzwilliam, the admiral, was one of the local magnates who inspected coast defences, Sussex and Hants

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(1) L.P.XI; 580, 714, 717, 750, 754-5, 765-70, 776, 780, 788, 800, 803, 824, 831, 833, 837-8, 979, 989, 1005, 1075-6, 1095, Appx. 8-9. (2) L.P.XI; 1124, 1126. (3) L.P.XI; 1205-6, 1311, XIX.i.888. Browne was in the field from 17 October until 15 December. Historical Manuscripts Commission 7th Report Loseley Mss. p.601. (4) L.P.XIV.i. 29, 144, 398, 445, 1008. (5) L.P.XIV.i. 1116, 1202, 1223, 1243, ii.289, 353, 395 XV; 186.

being his area, and in the Sussex musters he provided 183 fully equipped men, 24 of them gentlemen.<sup>(1)</sup> In March he was at his house at Cowdray on his way to view the fleet assembling at Portsmouth, receiving reports from an agent who had been at Rouen and Havre and promising to send a boat to reconnoitre Brest. His intelligence, which agreed with that received by Cromwell, indicated no marked activity in either France or Spain, but <sup>(2)</sup> energetic preparations continued in England nevertheless. Fitzwilliam acted vigorously, arranging musters and beacons in the Isle of Wight and improving fortifications in the area, some built with stone from monasteries.<sup>(3)</sup> The people of the Isle of Wight he found full of energy and determination.<sup>(4)</sup>

On 25 March there was a minor alarm. Fitzwilliam received letters from Cromwell and at once wrote to the deputy of the Isle of Wight to warn him of the possible approach of foreign ships, which were to be resisted if they tried to force a landing but treated gently if they came only for victual. The admiral was confident that there was sufficient of men, ordnance and beacons to make all safe.<sup>(5)</sup> He was less happy about the state of the fleet. Florentine, Ragusan and Venetian ships in English waters were pressed into service, local magnates were commanded to have allotted numbers of men ready to do duty at sea, archers and gunners where possible, to join the admiral at an hour's notice.<sup>(6)</sup> The king was urging haste. By early April Fitzwilliam hoped to have fourteen hundred men under his command within a fortnight and asked for a commission.<sup>(7)</sup> In the second week

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(1) L.P.XIV.i.652. (2) L.P.XIV.i.520,538. (3) L.P.XIV.i.564,899. (4) L.P.XIV.i.573. (5) L.P.XIV.i.596. (6) L.P.XIV.i.700. (7) L.P.XIV.i.726.

of June there were, according to the French ambassador, ninety ships ready at Portsmouth.<sup>(1)</sup>

The alarm in March had repercussion further east, where Thomas Cheyne, warden of the Cinque ports, had responsibility for defence. A chain of castles, or rather of forts of the latest design, had been built. The flanks touched Hull and Milford Haven, but the heart was in the south east and the most important works were "the three castles which keep the Downs", - Sandwich, Deal and Walmer, and these were under Cheyne's command. Late in March he was ordered to repair urgently from Shurland, his house in Sheppey, to Dover.<sup>(2)</sup> When he had previously mustered the militia of south east Kent he had found it in poor shape, but there was now plenty of enthusiasm to repel invaders. He requested the J.P.'s east of Canterbury to come to Sandwich with two or three thousand men, and word spread as far east as Ashford and Cranbrook and a movement towards the coast began which he had to check. He sent out a fishing vessel to examine the Netherlands coast, but according to his information from France and Flanders there was no cause for alarm.<sup>(3)</sup> He complained to Cromwell that he wasted his time at Dover and would be no less useful at home.<sup>(4)</sup> Two days after this letter he thought very differently. On Good Friday his scouting vessel came in with a report that fifty great ships of the emperor's, four to eight hundred tons apiece, but with the smallish complement of not more than five thousand men, were lying off Texel and probably sailing that night, in which case they could, if the wind held, be off Dover in two days time. Cheyne's problem was to gauge

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(1) L.P.XIV.i.1092. For some of its tackle the navy had to depend on a potential foe. In August Fitzwilliam referred to a purchase of sailcloth in Brittany. L.P.XIV.ii.43. (2) L.P.XIV.i.590. (3) L.P.XIV.i.623

(4) L.P.XIV.i.671

the nature and extent of the danger. He had authority to raise the alarm and fire the beacons for a general muster, but had been warned not to dissipate enthusiasm by false alarms. He tried to get Cromwell to make the decision for him.<sup>(1)</sup> In the meantime he waited with what force he had - 1500 men and eight cannon, for which he lacked sufficient gunners, watching from Dover castle and all along the coast, with boats patrolling the straits.<sup>(2)</sup>

On 8 April the emperor's fleet arrived and anchored off the North Foreland, sixty eight sail, all great ships, but rather smaller than first reported, ranging up to three hundred tons. They made no move at a landing, but would not let anyone from the shore go aboard them. Then came report of a landing in Thanet, which proved false. Cheyne continued his watch, very suspicious but not yet sure enough to fire the beacons. "If they land I trust you shall hear of some broken pates."<sup>(3)</sup> Two days after they arrived the situation had eased greatly, for Cheyne had a report from someone who had been aboard the imperial admiral's ship. Cheyne's letter to Cromwell is mutilated and details are not clear, but it appears that the visitor had been well received, had found the ship very lightly manned and had been told that most of the ships were bound for the Mediterranean and the rest for the bay of Biscay.<sup>(4)</sup> Other reports indicated that they were only lightly armed. He countermanded further<sup>(5)</sup> reinforcements but remained on watch until they departed. The invasion threat of 1539, never more than a possibility, was soon made unthinkable by a renewal of Franco-Spanish hostility.

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(1) L.P.XIV.i.691,701. (2) L.P.XIV.i.714. (3) L.P.XIV.i.728  
 (4) L.F.XIV.i.734. (5) L.F.XIV.i.735

John Wallop's career as a courtier, never very promising, and his career as an ambassador, which had been successful, were both brought to an end by his arrest and examination for treason in 1541. In April he was sent from his place of detention to the king at Dover, pardoned, and at once despatched to take command at Guisnes.<sup>(1)</sup> For over a year that fortress had been undergoing extensive alteration and repair and had seemingly reached a stage when its condition might offer temptation to the French to make a surprise attack. Wallop was given considerable reinforcements. The garrison was increased by five hundred men and there were fifteen hundred pioneers to do the work, who could also fight if need be.<sup>(2)</sup> In the winter, when weather made attack less likely and work less possible, the pioneers were reduced to five hundred in number.<sup>(3)</sup>

The atmosphere at Guisnes, as revealed by Wallop's reports, was one of constant watchfulness on the French in the Boullonnois and at Ardres and suspicion of their motives, even though social contact between commanders was maintained.<sup>(4)</sup> About a year after his appointment Wallop was summoned once more to Dover to meet the king. Henry was inspecting his south eastern defences, accompanied by Cheyne, the lord warden, and Russell, the admiral. Wallop reported on matters at Guisnes, saying that the works had been pushed on with all speed and outshone the French efforts at Ardres and the imperialists' at Mountory.<sup>(5)</sup>

By June 1542 Wallop considered that a Hapsburg -Valois war might soon break out. A considerable quantity of

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(1) L.P. XVI; 689, 694, 733. (2) L.P. XVI; 711, 733, 765.

(3) L.P. XVI; 1296, 1388. (4) L.P. XVI; 725, 739, 809, 833, 889, 920, 929, 944, 1311, 1388. XVII; 127. (5) L.P. XVI; 944, 986, 1036, XVII; 317, 338, 393, 413.

ordnance going towards Ardres aroused his suspicion and his "espial" found it mounted on bulwarks directed towards imperial strongholds.<sup>(1)</sup> In consequence of French reinforcement of Ardres the garrison at Guisnes was increased and Wallop was ordered to get into touch with De Roeulx, the emperor's commander in Flanders. Wallop made elaborate arrangements to visit him without arousing French suspicions. Wallop knew De Roeulx of old, having served with him in garrison at St.Omer in 1522, and he was impressed with his sincerity. De Roeulx had long held a conviction that Montreuil could be taken by a surprise attack and he was full of enthusiasm for a joint effort to that end.<sup>(2)</sup>

When the Franco-imperial war broke out toward the end of July 1542, English neutrality had to be combined with a constantly watchful eye on the French, for their preparations against Flanders fortresses could easily be turned against Guisnes. Wallop kept a strong force in the castle each night and hoped that the work would soon have reached a point where the ditches could be flooded. His care was most marked and he took every precaution that foresight could suggest. It may well have been that he was conscious of being on probation and was anxious to prove himself trustworthy. His diligence twice earned him the king's commendation.<sup>(3)</sup>

In August, while the Guisnes reinforcements were arriving, the imperial forces were experiencing setbacks. On 7 August Tournehan fell and De Roeulx retired toward Gravelines. He had been asking for English volunteers to serve under English captains in his master's forces,

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(1)L.P.XVII;423,489. (2)L.P.XVII;519. (3)L.P.XVII;526, 528,545,552.



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and Wallop was told to negotiate with him on this matter. Nothing came of it, for Henry was clearly unwilling to stretch his neutrality too far and even the report of what had been so far done had drawn protests from the French.<sup>(1)</sup> Later in August 1542 the situation eased with the withdrawal of the French and by late September Wallop was recommending a surprise English attack on an almost undefended Boullonois.<sup>(2)</sup> English neutrality posed other problems for Wallop besides that of volunteers. Both sides infringed English borders during their operations, there were questions of rights of passage and the pursuit and conducting of prisoners and plunder through the English pale, Englishmen in the emperor's service made prisoners by the French, and even unauthorised English banditry against French towns.<sup>(3)</sup>

The war between Francis and Charles freed Henry from any fear of invasion by sea and enabled him to attempt the subjugation of Scotland. During the summer, when things were going badly for the imperialists in Flanders, Cheyne was ordered to have up to two thousand men of Kent ready, with shipping provided, to reinforce Guisnes and intervene in the war if need be. The French ambassador got wind of this at once, as he was probably meant to do, while the imperial envoy was told that fifteen thousand men were being raised under Fitzwilliam to serve wherever needed, while Fitzwilliam himself told him that a naval force was being prepared to stop French privateering in the Channel.<sup>(4)</sup> All England hummed with preparation for war. In August and September the French were eyeing Cheyne and his men in Kent with anxiety for

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(1) L.P. XVII; 536, 576, 587-8, 593, 614, 618-9. (2) L.P. XVII; 849, 852. (3) L.P. XVII; 691, 709, 934, 952, 968, 973, 1005, 1087-8, 1091, 1095, 1106, XVIII.1.34, 41, 50, 97.  
(4) L.P. XVII; 586, 593, 601 (p. 344), 631.

movement by them would be the first sign that England was about to join in the war. By 19 September the secret was out, and it was to be war with Scotland.<sup>(1)</sup>

Before an attack was made there was pretence of negotiation, and on 10 September Fitzwilliam and Browne had left London to join Norfolk and Tunstall at York as the English commissioners.<sup>(2)</sup> They took a strong line and only complete capitulation by the Scots could have prevented war.<sup>(3)</sup> But Fitzwilliam and Browne were warned that if the Scots did accept terms, one of which was that James V was to come to London, they were to accompany him. Browne asked to be allowed to go home first, for his servants had no liveries beyond the white frieze with red crosses which was the usual wear with military harness, and he had himself no suitable apparel or silver plate for such a duty.. This was unnecessary, for by early October the negotiations had broken down.<sup>(4)</sup>

In part because of the difficulties involved, the English military preparations had been most inadequate, and Fitzwilliam was fuming with anger and anxiety. The main problem was shortage of victual, the ships bringing supplies from London suffering delays. By the middle of September he was ill with bodily sickness and with wrath.<sup>(5)</sup> They lacked grain for bread and beer, cheese, mills, ovens, brewhouses, casks and carts. Never was so great an enterprise purposed and so ill provision made. What especially grieved him was that the troops so ill furnished were fine tall men who deserved better treatment. He penned a p.s. to Wriothesley ... "Howe, Mayster Saycratore, what a trobull it is to a trow hart

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(1)L.P.XVII;654(p.368),676,697,729,770,806. (2)L.P.XVII;708,728,770,799. (3)L.P.XVII;807. (4)L.P.XVII;843,865,867. (5)L.P.XVII;813.

to se is mayster's goudes thus spent !"(1) The situation was made worse by the lateness of the season and those experienced in border warfare prophesied serious fuel shortage, for the area of operations was barren, wild and unwooded, and the people had unthatched their houses and would carry off or burn the timbers in face of an invasion. There would be no fuel to cook food or dry men obliged to lie on wet ground.(2)

Soon after the negotiations broke down victual ships from London arrived safely in the Tyne, news which cheered but could not heal Fitzwilliam.(3) He had to travel to Newcastle in a litter, racked with anxiety lest he should be unable to keep the field, and on the third day after his arrival he died.(3)

His death posed problems for his colleagues and his brother. Norfolk had only Browne left of his experienced subordinates, and he could not command the vanguard, which had been Fitzwilliams's task, as well as the cavalry.(ch) This problem had, however, already been solved by the king, who sent the earl of Hertford and Sir John Gage north when Fitzwilliam's mortal sickness was reported. Hertford was to take Fitzwilliam's place and Gage was to see to the welfare of the four thousand troops who had followed his standard, a matter which had been giving concern to his half brother, Browne.(4)

For honour of the memory of the dead Sir William Fitzwilliam, K.G., earl of Southampton, lord privy seal, etc, his standard was, according to Herbert, borne in the van of the subsequent expedition.(5) It was not borne very far or for very long. By 19 October Browne had brought

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(1)L.P.XVII;809,821,828,844. (2)L.P.XVII;856. (3)L.P.XVII;843,851,906,912,921,933,940,943,4,946,950.

(4)L.P.XVII;951,953. (5)E.Herbert Henry VIII p.483,

the army up to Berwick, where Norfolk already was, and Hertford and Gage soon arrived. All the gloomy forebodings were proved true. On 22 October the advance began with the troops in good heart, but they had to bivouac in bad weather and on poor fare. A four day march up the north bank of the Tweed was followed by some skirmishing in the area of Eccles and Kelso, the spoiling of the latter place and the burning of twenty "towns" in the vicinity. The supplies ran out and by 29 October the army was back at Berwick.<sup>(1)</sup> The fiasco was made only less humiliating by the failure in catastrophic fashion of the Scottish counter-stroke at Solway Moss.

The war was ended by the treaty of Greenwich in July 1543, but an attack on the Scots was again a possibility in the autumn of that year, when Browne was sent north to discuss it with Suffolk.<sup>(2)</sup>

By the end of 1542, with the Scots beaten, Henry VIII was ready to join Charles V against France. Wallop at Guisnes was notified in February 1543 that a secret agreement had been made and that he was to confer with De Roeulx on possible allied operations. He was also to prepare a thorough military appreciation of the local situation, stating his cavalry strength, and how many more infantry and cavalry he could use and supply, in addition to the workmen and reinforcements already promised, what damage he could do the French by a surprise attack, what counter-strokes they might make and how these could be parried, and what assistance he thought might be given by the imperialists. Wallop had already estimated that the existing garrison at Guisnes, reinforced from Calais

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(1) L.P.XVII; 969, 970, 975, 996, 1044. (2) L.P.XVIII.ii.198, 217, 220-1, 236, 244, 262-3.

and Hammes, and leaving the workmen to keep the castle and town, could loot and burn the villages between Marquison and the sea between 3 a.m. and 12 noon and be back in safety before the French could react against them.<sup>(1)</sup>

In May 1543 the French laid siege to Bapaume and De Roeulx moved all his forces to relieve it, asking Wallop to protect the denuded frontier near the Pale, as Henry had undertaken should be done. Wallop warned the French commander against an attack and there was a somewhat stiff exchange of notes between himself and Du Biez, the French local commander.<sup>(2)</sup> At the end of June a finish was put to the uncertainties of neutrality by the English declaration of war against France. A force to take the field in Europe was assembled in England and the designated commander was Thomas Cheyne. This caused anxiety to Charles' ambassador in England, Chapuys, who feared that Cheyne was pro-French and seemed continually to be raising difficulties about his command. Chapuys suggested that Wallop would be a better choice, and he succeeded in getting Henry to make the change.<sup>(3)</sup> Early in July Wallop was appointed, with Thomas Seymour as his second in command. They were to serve under the emperor's captains, (with reservations about their use) for a hundred and twelve days, and longer if the emperor should pay for them. The strength was to be five hundred horse, and four thousand and five hundred foot, with twenty pieces of artillery of various sizes.<sup>(4)</sup>

Wallop left one of his officers in command at Gusines with detailed instructions for its defence.<sup>(5)</sup> On 22 July 1543 the army left Calais and for the next three days

(1) L.P.XVIII.i.194-5,600,619,626,641,647. (2) L.P.XVIII.i.704,716,730,750-2. (3) L.P.XVIII.i.570,675,740,759,786,789,820,832. (4) L.P.XVIII.i.831,2, 882,981(32)  
(5) L.P.XVIII.i.833.

Ward engaged in devastating French territory south of Calais pale. Wallop was then joined by 2,000 horse and 2,000 foot from the imperial forces and they marched south eastward to join De Roeulx. En route they burned the town and castle of Alquines and blew up the great tower with gunpowder. Wallop reported events at Therouenne in some detail, describing how he failed with three successive "ambushes" to draw the French from the town, but at the fourth attempt, made by a hundred imperial horse, each with an arquebusier mounted behind him, the French horse sallied out and there was a "very good skirmish", with the lord warden's mounted archers and the English northern horse conducting themselves well and driving the enemy back into the town. The allies camped for the night and Wallop wrote to the commander of the place, an old acquaintance, asking if he could find six gentlemen to break lances with six of Wallop's choice. Next morning the meeting took place and the courses were well run, with at least one fatality.

The march continued and De Roeulx was met with in the vicinity of Bethune. The old scheme for an assault on Montreuil was discussed, but the imperialists now had other plans and suggested that the English force should assist in the siege of Landrecies in Hainault.<sup>(1)</sup> Wallop was doubtful if his instructions allowed of this, but although he referred to the privy council he did not wait for their reply but moved forward the next day. Henry's agreement was given, although he did not think much of the project.<sup>(2)</sup> From 5 August Wallop marched three leagues daily via Arras and Cambrai until, at

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(1)L.P.XVIII.i.960,979, ii,12,13 (2)L.P.XVIII.ii.27.

Haspres, ten miles north east of the latter place the combined force met with De Roeulx's brother, the duke of Arschot. The addition of Burgundian, German, Spanish and other contingents had now brought the army up to a total of 12,500 foot and 3,000 horse.<sup>(1)</sup> Ten days later it was concentrated in a defensive position at Englefontaine, five miles N.N.W of Landrecies. There it remained for some days awaiting French reaction, until news came that Francis I had moved from Coucy towards Reims.<sup>(2)</sup> The allied commanders then decided on a raid in some force towards the castle of Bohain, halfway between Le Cateau and St. Quentin. De Roeulx, Arschot and Wallop in person led 8,000 men on the enterprise. A night advance was followed by the disgraceful rout of an advanced party and the raid was called off.

When the higher commanders got back to Englefontaine they found their camp, where Seymour had been left in control, in a dangerous condition. For some days feeling had been running high between the English and the German contingents and they had already come to blows, vigorous action being needed from the English officers to get their men out of the German camp. Now both sides were massed for a clash and only the energetic intervention of Arschot and De Roeulx prevented one. After about an hour, on an agreed signal, each side retired to its own lines. But worse was to follow. The German colonel with about a dozen arquebusiers entered the English camp, for what purpose is not stated, and seeing Wallop with his sword drawn, fired at him. Richard Cromwell, one of the English captains, leaped at the German and deflected the

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(1)L.P.XVIII.ii.43. (2)L.P.XVIII.ii.65,92.

barrel in time. George Carew was minded to run the German through and another Englishman fired at him, but his piece misfired. Wallop was much relieved that no blood had been shed, for that would have led to so much damage to both sides that there could have been no invasion of France that year. He reported the matter to Arschot who made the German and his captains apologise and promise to keep better order.<sup>(1)</sup>

A day or two later Wallop was attacked by an ague and taken to Valenciennes in a litter. He remained there until mid-September and missed the repetition of the raid on Bohain which he had been urging, this time by a smaller force, which took the castle after a bombardment.<sup>(2)</sup> By the time he had returned to his command the advance against Landrecies had begun. The English encamped half a mile from the town, digging trenches and building bridges under fire, while the Germans once more proved troublesome, refusing to man trenches until they had been paid, the English having to provide the men needed in the meantime.<sup>(3)</sup> On 19 October Charles V himself arrived before the town. He at once asked to see the English camp, where he admired the defences and the officers and wrote his compliments to Henry. They were probably genuine, but Charles was also anxious to secure continuation of the English services, due to expire on 1 November.<sup>(4)</sup> Wallop thought that Charles would not pay if he could help it, and he knew him to be short of money. In fact, he believed that an advance against the castle of Guise, about a dozen miles to the south, which he had hoped would include the English contingent, had been

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(1) L.P.XVIII.ii.92. (2) ~~L.F.XVIII.ii.129.~~ L.P.XVIII.ii.129.

(3) L.F.XVIII.ii.167, 187, 189, 266. (4) L.P.XVIII.ii.291-2



abandoned because of lack of funds.<sup>(1)</sup> Wallop was himself in similar straits, with only sixteen days pay left on 10 October, victuals dear, clothes becoming thin and cold increasing, so that when the weather became foul his men began to fall sick.<sup>(2)</sup> But Charles pressed the English government with pleas that the fall of the town was imminent, and an extension of twenty days was agreed.<sup>(3)</sup>

The siege was indeed approaching a climax. Henry's conceit of his military ability was so good that he gave advice on the siege of a town which he had never seen to men who were actually before the place. He advised against assault and suggested bombardment from mounds of earth. He cautioned Wallop against being too hasty in putting his men forward. Wallop passed on the advice to De Roeulx, who declared it to his liking. He had, presumably, to be polite.<sup>(4)</sup> The siege continued with both mining and bombardment. The besiegers shot arrows with wildfire into the town and had up to a dozen mortars and forty cannons in action. Wallop reckoned that under the continual fire the town could not endure twelve days more. One great mortar was a formidable and expensive novelty, firing a bomb which was a "strange and wonderful sight" as it flew through the air spouting wildfire and after its fall still spouting. When it burst it scattered either arquebus shot, or small charges which also burst, to the number of fifty to one hundred. Wallop thought that Henry would probably be interested and that Charles would let him have the services of the maker.<sup>(5)</sup>

Wallop wrote with pride of the English pioneers who worked under fire from which the Germans had fled. "Such

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(1) L.P. XVIII.ii.218, 250, 266. (2) L.P. XVIII.ii.267. (3) L.P. XVIII.ii.300, 304-5, 331. (4) L.P. XVIII.ii.280, 239.  
 (5) L.P. XVIII.ii.293, 310.

a siege of such a town has not of long time been seen in these parts, and, although slow, it grows now to good perfection."<sup>(1)</sup> On 29 October preparations for assault by forces of Italian, Spanish, German and English troops were complete and the breach was of almost sufficient width, when news came that Francis I Had advanced to Cateau Cambresis, (Le Cateau). To Wallop's disgust the assault was at once abandoned, the guns withdrawn and the army at once concentrated to meet the French. It would seem that the English commander thought that there was time to take the town, for he hinted that the imperialists were glad to abandon the siege and furthermore had no real intention of giving battle.<sup>(2)</sup>

In the latter he did them an injustice. On 2 November they advanced towards the enemy, skirmishing all day. That night Charles joined them, armed and riding a little Turkey horse. Next day they continued towards Le Cateau, still skirmishing and driving the French from their entrenched camp there. The tactics and conduct of the English northern border horse had been outstanding and were much praised. Wallop noted that as the possibility of battle increased, Charles showed signs of high courage. That night was cold and windy and next morning the emperor held a council. It was decided that since Francis had refused battle the honour belonged to Charles, and they should withdraw to Solesmes, since the French were too strongly placed to be dislodged or besieged. They would wait until time forced Francis to disperse his large army. That day was quiet and in the night the French withdrew silently, bells being removed from mules,

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(1)L.P.XVIII.ii.310. (2)L.P.XVIII.ii.321.

carters forbidden to crack whips, "trumpet there blew none, ne yet stroke with drum". Next morning the English scouts discovered the enemy's departure and Charles and his horsemen, followed by the footmen, gave chase for six or seven leagues. The French abandoned carts with wine, tents and gunpowder and other things, and a few stragglers were taken, any of the emperor's subjects among them being killed. The pursuit got into disorder and there was a sharp skirmish in a wood, and when the approach of night put an end to the chase the allies retired to the former French camp.<sup>(1)</sup>

On 7 November the imperial force marched towards Crevecoeur, where on 10 November Charles announced that as the campaigning season was over, the weather foul, victuals scarce and the French army disbanded or in garrisons, he would disband his own army. It remained for Wallop to get his force back to English territory.<sup>(2)</sup> The next day with his chief subordinates he took his leave of the emperor and by the fourteenth of the month the English were at Douai. The ordnance and munitions presented a problem. In Hainault and Cambresis the roads were so bad that double teams could hardly draw a normal load halved, while the waggon ropes, rotted by long exposure, kept breaking. Roads in Artois and Flanders were reported to be worse still, and the draught animals were exhausted and ill fed. Wallop decided to leave everything at Douai, except the bows, which were wet through in their chests. By advice of the master of the ordnance at Calais he left three gunners, two smiths and two joiners to repair and service guns, pikes, bills and other

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(1)L.P.XVIII.ii.337,345-7,365. (2)L.P.XVIII.ii.352,365.

weapons. The privy council disagreed and ordered that all should be brought to Calais, but Wallop insisted that it was impossible to do so by land until the roads were dry and that conveyance by water involved a roundabout route by Ghent, Antwerp and the sea, with a risk of freezing rivers and theft from boats. He had his way and the guns were left in the castle hall and the munitions in a merchant's house, all under lock and key. When the bows and arrows were inspected it was recommended that two bowyer and two fletchers be left at Calais for a month, to dry, set and season them in readiness for the next year's campaign.<sup>(1)</sup>

By 19 November the troops had reached Calais, but the baggage train made slower progress. Charles had ordered the captain of Gravelines to help it with carts, and he worked hard in repairing frost damaged roads and escorting it with the Aire and St.Omer garrisons along the dangerous frontier near Therouenne. At St.Omer they had to unload the baggage into boats and go by water to Gravelines, and thence into waggons again to Calais. But on 4 December Wallop was once more back in his old command at Guisnes.<sup>(2)</sup>

The English force had earned itself a good reputation in the 1543 campaign. Wallop himself referred to the good discipline and spirit of his men, and it was also apparent to strangers. De Roeulx was pleased with their marching and the emperor wrote complimentary words of them. The English commander reported that all his captains had done well and that he had never known a campaign where there was so much for youth to learn. Among

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(1)L.P.XVIII.ii.384,426,453. (2)L.P.XVIII.ii.426,453.

the learners was Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, who had joined the force at Landrecies. Losses had been small, the only casualties among the gentlemen being three prisoners.<sup>(1)</sup> Henry VIII expressed his satisfaction and although Wallop declared that he wanted no recompense beyond a merry look from his king when next called to his presence, his reward for a successful campaign was election to the Garter on 23 December. His rehabilitation was complete.<sup>(2)</sup>

On 31 December 1543 England and the emperor bound themselves by the Hampton Court treaty to an invasion of France in the following year. Among the witnesses were Cheyne and Browne.<sup>(3)</sup> The English objectives in the ensuing campaign of 1544 were strictly limited. There was to be no repetition of Suffolk's thrust into France of 1523 which had been rendered futile by lack of imperial support. It was twenty one years later now, but Henry still was king and the same men, Norfolk and Suffolk, still commanded his armies. This time it was to be Boulogne. An advanced force of 700 horse and 12,500 foot, commanded by Norfolk with the assistance of Cheyne and Russell was in Europe by June, and on De Roeulx's advice, decided to attack Montreuil. The operation was presumably intended as a cover for the operations against Boulogne, although Norfolk was not officially told of Henry's determination against the latter place until 7 July.<sup>(4)</sup> The army, according to its commanders, was short of money, supplies, equipment and men. The whole English operation in this year is generally considered to have been best managed, as well as the largest and most expensive

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(1) L.P.XVIII.ii. 12,43,366, ,413,426. (2) L.P.XVIII.ii. 438,517. (3) L.P.XVIII.ii.526 (4) L.P.XIX.i.273-4, 674,863.

of the reign, so the vanguard's shortcomings may have existed more in the imagination of the irritable Norfolk than in reality. He himself excepted Cheyne's command, the cavalry, from his complaint, saying that Sir Thomas kept it in good condition at his own expense.<sup>(1)</sup> Norfolk had a high opinion of Cheyne on this campaign and tried to get the council to be generous over his diets.<sup>(2)</sup>

The vanguard left Calais on 23 June, made an unhurried advance to Montreuil and established camp a mile from the town on 9 July.<sup>(3)</sup> The slow, methodical process of driving trenches towards the defences was begun, provoking sorties by the French. In one of these John Cheyne, the treasurer of the vanguard and Thomas' son, was killed when an evening attack on a trench which had almost reached one of the town gates caused him to be hit by an arquebus shot and mortally wounded.<sup>(4)</sup> There were French raids on provision convoys, which had to be rescued by Cheyne and the cavalry, and at the end of August an English-imperial force under Cheyne, the earls of Surrey and Sussex and Lord William Howard, raided and burnt in Picardy as far as the suburbs of Abbeville, where they had a hot skirmish before returning in good order with much booty.<sup>(5)</sup>

The main English army was to be commanded by Suffolk, with Browne as one of his subordinates. It arrived before Boulogne on 20 July and the siege was pushed forward energetically. In the course of it Browne was sent with horse, foot and artillery to deal with an abbey used by the French as a base for attacks on the besiegers. He took and burnt it, killing or capturing the defenders.

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(1)L.P.XIX.i.675. (2)L.P.XIX.i.685, ii.74. (3)L.P.XIX.i.763,795,837,849,863. (4)L.P.XIX.i.966. Rumour in London had it that it was Thomas Cheyne who was killed. L.P.XIX.ii.111. (5)L.P. XIX.ii.27,176, XX.ii.494.

On 6 September Cheyne came north for a short visit to Henry's camp at Boulogne, to lay before the king the problems of the Montreuil siege, which was not going well. On 14 September Boulogne capitulated, and the most important reason for the secondary operation was gone. Later in the month Charles V made a separate peace with France, which meant that the imperialist mercenaries would be withdrawn from Norfolk's force. The need to concentrate to meet the undivided attention of the French caused the Montreuil siege to be abandoned and by 30 September the English army had withdrawn to Boulogne.<sup>(1)</sup>

At the capitulation of Boulogne, Browne had station beside the king, bearing the monarch's naked sword in front of him, flanked by English troops and German mercenaries, while the garrison marched out, accompanied by a number of citizens who would not accept English rule.<sup>(2)</sup> Anthony Denny had also accompanied the king to France, the first martial activity on his part of which we have record. It is probable that he remained in close attendance on the king and that his small command was part of the headquarter guard. He was one of the twenty eight knights made at Boulogne by Henry to commemorate the capture.<sup>(3)</sup>

During the 1544 campaign Wallop was back in his old Guisnes command. When the preparations for the sieges were in train he made a "great alarm" against Ardres which was probably meant as a diversion. He then joined Norfolk and Cheyne at Calais and accompanied the army on part of its move to Montreuil.<sup>(4)</sup> In October, when Boulogne had fallen, he was nervously watching a large French

(1) L.P.XIX.ii.230,336,424, Appx.10. (2) L.P.XIX.ii.424.

(3) L.P.XIX.i.273,275, ii.334. (4) L.P.XIX.i.616,674-5, 694,700,758,763,786.

force commanded by the dauphin and probably intended to retake Boulogne, although it might attack Guisnes. He asked for the large reinforcement of 1,500 men, if possible they should be arquebusiers. He had to consider the chances of a blockade by water. Guisnes is almost due south of Calais and the most direct route was over the belt of flooded land that lay between. He learned that the French had boats to hand and he took precautions to prevent them from "keeping the plache, and so stop the way from Callais hither and cut our victualls from us if they mind to lay siege to the castle." The dauphin's army went away, but Wallop could not relax, being warned by the council of other concentrations in the vicinity and bidden to cause the ice to be broken daily along the borders.<sup>(1)</sup>

The Franco-imperial peace left England alone against France and once more opened the possibility of an invasion. Preparations for defence were going forward in the early months of 1545. In April the council decided that somebody of note must take command at Dover and muster the militia. Cheyne, lord warden, and constable of the castle, was the obvious choice, but the king decided to use Thomas Seymour. The ostensible, and perhaps also the real reason was Cheyne's ill-health, but the council's letter bidding him place his officers under Seymour's authority is so full of blandishments that one wonders why they were thought necessary. "...a man most meetest for that purpose ... to regard the recovery of your health so as to be able to serve him again many years longer... His Majesty doubts not but, were it not for sick-

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(1) L.P.XIX.ii.356,370-1,379,380,408,417.



ness, you would gladly be there, and all we be sorry that you cannot..."<sup>(1)</sup> A joint commission of array for eastern Kent was issued to Cheyne and Seymour, to last from May until Christmas, and in fact they acted in joint command at Dover.<sup>(2)</sup> They guarded the coast and saw to the safety of ships moving to Calais and Boulogne. In July they reported that their instructions to convey 5,000 infantry across were made dangerous by the proximity of the French fleet, but in the end they got at least 4,500 across, for Cheyne received payment for that number at eight pence a man.<sup>(3)</sup> They also shipped Spaniards from Dover and Sandwich to Calais.<sup>(4)</sup> In August the council warned them to expect a fleet action somewhere off Rye within two days and to have men and boats ready on the coast, whether to repel landings or to rescue casualties not being stated.<sup>(5)</sup>

In September Cheyne was asking to be relieved from his post, but was refused,<sup>(6)</sup> but by mid-October he was allowed to leave Seymour in charge and come to court.<sup>(7)</sup>

Browne, with Paulet, the lord chamberlain, had been assigned the important coastal sectors of the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, Southampton and Chichester to defend.<sup>(8)</sup> In July he was at Portsmouth with the court and the army assembled to repel French attack, and with Suffolk he accompanied the king to Southsea to witness the advance of the French galleys up the Solent and the action which resulted in the accidental loss of the flagship "Mary Rose."<sup>(9)</sup> The French made some small and unsuccessful landings on the Isle of Wight and Sussex coasts and Cheyne had the distributing of aid to places which had

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(1) L.P.XX.i.584. (2) L.P.XX.i.846(13), 1144, 1153, 1313.  
 (3) L.P.XX.i.1321-2, ii.79, 80, 199(2), 344-5. (4) L.P.XX.i.643. (5) L.P.XX.ii.94. (6) L.P.XX.ii.280. (7) L.P.XX.ii.599. (8) L.P.XX.i.671, 922, 984. (9) Archaeologia III.p.239.

suffered in his lord wardenship.<sup>(1)</sup> He was also responsible for ordnance in the fortresses in the same area and was warned to punish soldiers, sailors and labourers who came from Boulogne and Calais without passes, as well as "idle women who repair over and unprofitable persons".<sup>(2)</sup>

The year also saw the usual activity along the Guisne frontier, for Wallop, with Grey, who at the time commanded the town as opposed to the castle, were thanked by the council for their "lusty courage".<sup>(3)</sup> In April 1545 Wallop's men had successes against the Ardres garrison and in that year and the following he took prisoners who were worth ransoms.<sup>(4)</sup> In 1546 England continued on the defensive. Browne was sent with Gardiner to confer with Hertford who commanded at Boulogne in the matter of troops, fortifications, victuals and forage,<sup>(5)</sup> and in June-May Cheyne was ordered to put the people of Kent in order and watch the beacons for alarm of a landing.<sup>(6)</sup> But the war was on its last legs, peace being made "in a tent near the town of Camp (Guemp?) in the confines of Ardres and Guisnes" on 7 June 1546.<sup>(7)</sup> Wallop returned to his normal attitude of suspicious watchfulness and attentions to his fortifications.<sup>(8)</sup> In April 1547 he was one of three English commissioners appointed to settle with the French the boundaries of the Boulogne territory.<sup>(9)</sup>

During the reign of Edward VI the government had a continual anxiety about the external, and to an even greater degree the internal defence of the realm. In August 1547 Cheyne had protector Somerset's commission to levy troops in Kent<sup>(10)</sup> and in February 1548 he and

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(1) L.P.XX.ii.Appx.27(iii,iv). (2) L.P.XX.ii.599,878.  
 (3) L.P.XX.i.986, P.dei M Grey Egerton Services and Charges of Lord Grey of Wilton p.2. (4) L.P.XXI.i.594.  
 C.S.P.Foreign 1547-53 p.293. (5) L.P.XXI.i.972  
 (6) L.P.XXI.i.790. (7) L.P.XXI.i.1014. (8) C.S.P.Foreign  
 1547-53 pp.298,300,312,317-9,324. (9) A.P.C.II.pp.508,  
 544, C.S.P.Foreign 1547-53 pp.10,329. (10) A.P.C.II.p.  
 119.

others had a similar commission to muster the Kentish hundreds of Middleton, Tenham, Faversham, and Boughton under Blean, and the vill of Ospringe. Three weeks later he summoned his fellow commissioners to meet him at Sittingbourne. Hundreds were allotted among them and articles agreed for the manner and form of certificates. They then wrote to the constables of hundreds to cause all able bodied men of sixteen years and upwards to appear at Sittingbourne on a stated day. The muster rolls were completed and ready for despatch to the council eleven days after. A few days before completion the council ordered Cheyne to have four hundred men in readiness as part of a reinforcement for Calais. He directed the commissioners to prepare, allocating numbers to them and they in their turn ordering the constables to have the men, named, ready by a stated date. In June there was order for a similar number to be mustered under four captains appointed by the commissioners, and in July there was another general muster. In April 1549 a state of readiness at one hour's warning was ordered.<sup>(1)</sup>

In the year 1549 war again broke out with France. On this occasion the imperialists were neutral, facing the problems that had bothered Wallop in 1542. They complained that both sides violated their territory in pursuit of their enemies.<sup>(2)</sup> In March 1550 peace was made, the English handing back Boulogne to the French. Wallop was again a commissioner for delimiting boundaries.<sup>(3)</sup>

From November 1547 until the year 1551, Cheyne, according to available records was responsible for the payment of eight men serving at Sheerness blockhouse, the first mention of fortifications at the latter place.<sup>(4)</sup> In October 1548, with Paget, he accompanied Somerset on

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(1) B.M. Additional Ms. 37668 pp. 1-16, 31. (2) C.S.P. Spanish IX. p. 367, (3) C.S.P. Spanish 1550. (3) C.S.P. Foreign 1547-1553 p. 62, Burnet Reformation II. ii. p. 24. Strype Memorials II. i. p. 428 (4) A.P.C. pp. 144, 189, 239-40, III pp. 160, 193, 439.

a week's tour of harbours and forts at Rye, Dover, Sandwich and Sheppey.<sup>(1)</sup> In 1551 he was told to pay and discharge the garrisons of superfluous fortifications in the Cinque ports area and dismantle them to provide field ordnance, and the next year he was asked to report which blockhouses in Kent might best be spared.<sup>(2)</sup>

Denny took part in the operations against the Norfolk rebels in 1549, his presence with Northampton's force being probably as a privy councillor rather than a soldier. With a small number of English troops and some Italian mercenaries they made their way into Norwich at the end of July, but were soon forced out and retreated to Cambridge.<sup>(3)</sup> The troubles of 1549 were not repeated in the following year, but precautions were taken against unrest. The imperial ambassador reported in June that the privy seal (Russell), the admiral (Clinton), and the lord warden had each been despatched to their own areas to maintain order.<sup>(4)</sup>

In April 1550, Cheyne was given licence to retain a hundred gentlemen in livery, whom he had had since January.<sup>(5)</sup> Licences to retain were, of course, no novelty. Browne had had one for twenty four in 1538 and Denny for twenty in 1542.<sup>(6)</sup> What was novel was that Cheyne's men, and those of other councillors, were paid by the crown in peace time, or were certainly so paid for from at least September 1551 to September 1552, at the rate of £2,000 a year for his hundred horsemen.<sup>(7)</sup> The payments were probably begun earlier, for in December 1550 the king recorded in his journal that "there was appointed a band of horsemen, divided amongst the nobility, of

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(1) G. Lefèvre-Pontalis *Correspondance Politique de Odet de Selve* pp.463-4. (2) *A.P.C.* III.p.225, IV.p.34. (3) *Holinshed Cheronicle* II.p.971. (4) *C.S.P. Spanish* X.pp.108, 114. (5) *C.P.R. Edw.VI* IV.p.26. (6) *L.P.* XIII.1.384(55), XVII;714(21). (7) *A.P.C.* IV.pp.15,99,113.

nine hundred men.". Cheyne, with Somerset, Warwick, Russell and Herbert had bands of a hundred each.<sup>(1)</sup>

These standing companies were paraded to the public gaze frequently. In December 1551 there was a muster of eleven hundred of them in Hyde Park, Cheyne's hundred marching past last, uniformed in black, with spears, pennisils and custrels, his standard showing the rose in the sun. In May 1552 there was a similar muster at Blackheath.<sup>(2)</sup> From these bands of cavalry was drawn the escort which accompanied Edward VI on his only progress, that of 1552. Originally 354 strong, out of a total of four thousand horses in the whole progress, at Guildford on the outward journey they were reduced to 150, Cheyne's portion dropping from twenty to fifteen.<sup>(3)</sup>

This nucleus of a standing army availed Northumberland nothing in his attempt to steal Mary Tudor's inheritance, but her proposal to marry a foreign and a Roman Catholic prince provoked one of the most dangerous risings of the century. On 25 January 1554 Sir Thomas Wyatt began an insurrection in Kent. Cheyne was at the time at his home in Shurland, and the council's first news of the rising included his name among the Kent notables who had joined Wyatt, and declared that he had taken Dover castle.<sup>(4)</sup> But Cheyne was loyal and by 27 January the council knew it.<sup>(5)</sup> He was reported to have a thousand horse ready to march against the rebels, and two days later Wyatt was believed trapped at Rochester between Norfolk moving eastward and Cheyne and Abergavenny coming from the west, and to be asking for terms.<sup>(6)</sup> But Wyatt was by no means finished. Norfolk's men went over to him and on 1 February Cheyne was still at Shurland, writing that he could

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(1) J.G.Nichols Literary Remains of Edward VI II.p.299

(2) H.Machyn Diary PP.13,20. Styrye Memorials II.i.pp.511, 583. (3) A.P.C. IV.p.100. (4) J.G.Nichols Chronicle of Queen Jane p.36. (5) C.S.P.Spanish XII.pp.52,55-6.

(6) C.S.P.Spanish XII.p.56.

not trust his own people and advising that Pembroke (Herbert) should advance with caution. Nevertheless he was the same day assuring Abergavenny that he would shortly join him and would spend his heart's blood in the quarrel.<sup>(1)</sup> By 4 February he had got as far as Sittingbourne, intending to move on to Rochester, but Wyatt had already reached Southwark. On 5 February it was rumoured that Cheyne and Abergavenny were at Blackheath and Greenwich,<sup>(2)</sup> but Cheyne was halted at Rochester. After some deliberation "he thought first to understand the queen's pleasure how to proceed in his dealings; and hereupon he rode post to the queen himself, leaving the lord of Abergavenny and the rest of the gentlemen with his and their bands behind till his return ..."<sup>(3)</sup> It appears a somewhat curious method of dealing with rebels marching on the capital and nerve centre of the realm.

Finding London Bridge barred to him, Wyatt waited for three days, but when news came that Cheyne's force and others as well were moving towards him, he marched to Kingston, crossed the river and advanced on London from the west.<sup>(4)</sup> On 7 February Cheyne was still at Rochester intending to move to join Abergavenny at Dartford.<sup>(5)</sup> The rebels ultimately reached Ludgate, where a discouraged Wyatt surrendered without a fight. The government had experienced a very alarming few days, and on 12 February, probably as a consequence, the queen's escort stood at the large figure of 2,100 foot and 680 horse, fifty of the latter provided by Cheyne.<sup>(6)</sup> His contribution to Wyatt's downfall had been less than conspicuous but he was one of a number of courtiers who received a

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(1) C.S.P.Domestic 1547-80 pp.58-9. J.G.Nichols Chronicle of Queen Jane pp.177, Holinshed Chronicle IV p.12.

(2) J.G.Nichols Chronicle of Queen Jane pp.177,36,177.

(3) Holinshed Chronicle IV.p.128. (4) C.S.P.Spanish XII. p.86. (5) C.S.P.Domestic 1547-80 p.59. (6) A.P.C.IV p.392.

letter of thanks from Charles V for goodwill shown him and valiant service to the queen, and promising reward.<sup>(1)</sup>

When, in 1557, Philip of Spain made his long looked for second, and last, visit to England, he came primarily to cajole his wife into joining his war against France, a conflict in which she had little real interest but great provocation to enter. The last straw was a French sponsored landing at Scarborough by Thomas Stafford. In May, 1557, according to a Venetian report, the council decided to send a force under Pembroke, Grey of Wilton, Cheyne, and Montague (eldest son to our Anthony Browne), to support Philip.<sup>(2)</sup> War was declared in June. Cheyne did not accompany Pembroke's force, which took part in the successful operations around St. Quentin. Instead he was engaged in forwarding troops from Dover and catching deserters.<sup>(3)</sup>

The English interference was to cost a heavy price. On New year's day 1558, Guise opened the siege of Calais with great vigour. The defences had been badly neglected and the town was quite unprepared, in spite of desperate last minute efforts to remedy deficiencies. On the day the siege began Cheyne and other Kent notables were ordered to raise and as far as possible equip a hundred footmen each from their servants, tenants or wherever they could find them, and send them to Dover. Cheyne's company was to be under his son in law, Nicholas Crispe.<sup>(4)</sup> Cheyne left the court at Greenwich on 4 January, presumably for Dover. Next day instructions went after him to furnish the queen's ships with Cinque ports sailors, "and not to stay upon any scruple of words in his commission

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(1) C.S.P. Spanish XII.p.118. C(2) C.S.P. Venetian 1556-7; 873. (3) A.P.C. VI.pp.113,126. (4) A.P.C. VI.p.226.

but to go forward with all haste". In order that he might understand his best course of action without delay he was empowered to open all letters to the queen and council which came through his hands, except those from Philip. He was to proclaim that on pain of death all able bodied men in Kent between the ages of sixteen and sixty were to repair to Dover to make up gaps in the 2,000 reinforcement intended for Calais, and provisions for their use were to be brought to Dover. £3,000 was sent for pay. He was to send a boat to the Flanders coast with a letter to be got to Lord Grey at Guisnes, promising speedy relief.<sup>(1)</sup> English military weakness is made painfully clear by the piecemeal and improvised methods and underlined by the council reply to his demand for arms and equipment. The most that could be supplied was for five hundred men and the rest he must find from the nobles and gentry of the county, who "should have good store". Calais was now tightly invested and the council passed to Cheyne a suggestion that messages should be shot into the town by crossbows, presumably from the sea.<sup>(2)</sup> But all was too late. On 7 January Calais fell. Shortly after this Guisnes surrendered after a spirited defence, and the last English foothold in France was gone. For a while confusion reigned in England. On 10 January Cheyne was told to select the fit among the men who had come to Dover, to be taken to Dunkirk and join Spanish forces in relieving Guisnes and retaking Calais.<sup>(3)</sup> Two days later the disbandment of the Dover forces was ordered, but on 17 January further orders were given for levying men for service in the Netherlands. Cheyne offered to go ~~with~~

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(1) A.P.C. VI. pp. 230-1, 233, C.S.P. Domestic 1547-80 p. 97, C.S.P. Foreign 1553-8 p. 358. (2) A.P.C. VI. p. 233.

(3) A.P.C. VI p. 238, C.S.P. Domestic 1547-80 pp. 97-8



with them, and this offer was accepted. But men, arms, ammunition and uniforms were all to seek and bad weather added to the difficulties. By the end of the month the idea of immediate recapture had been abandoned and he was told to discharge all save a number sufficient to defend Dover.

By this time Cheyne seems to have had enough of his responsibilities. He informed the council of the exposed and defenceless condition of Kent and begged to be allowed to resign the commission as lord lieutenant of the county which he had held since 1550.<sup>(1)</sup> His advanced age presumably added force to his plea, which appears to have been granted. It was his wish to retire to Sheppey and protect Queenborough. During the crisis among his other duties had been included inspecting of musters and administering martial law.<sup>(2)</sup> He was not allowed to escape entirely from the burden of clearing up afterwards, for the council ordered him to regard himself as responsible for the return of the five hundred military harnesses which was the most they could find at the height of the crisis.<sup>(3)</sup>

One humane touch appears in Cheyne's report that five French sailors and a trumpeter had brought to Dover many of the women and children from Calais. He had arrested them for entering the harbour without permission, but the council commanded that they be released with courtesy since their errand had been one of mercy.<sup>(4)</sup>

Thomas Cheyne's military career was almost over, and its end coincided with the nadir of English fortune under the Tudors. He still had a little to do, for in

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(1) C.S.P. Spanish X.p.108,114. A.P.C. III.p.257, IV.pp.49, 276, VI.pp.238,248. C.S.P.Domestic 1547-80 pp.98-9

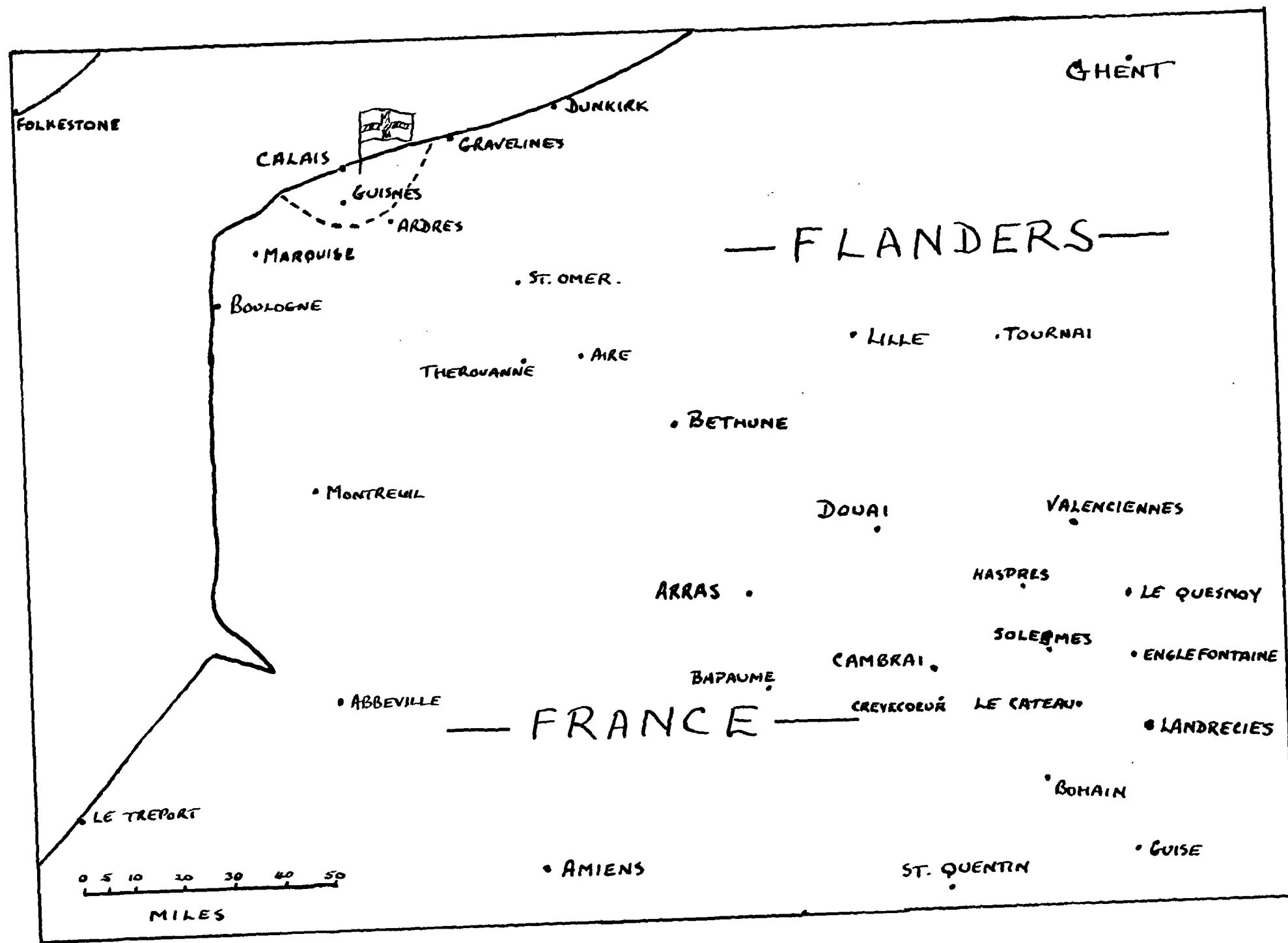
(2) A.P.C. VI.p.239, C.S.P.Domestic 1547-80 pp.98-9.

(3) A.F.C. VI p.266 (4) A.P.C. VI p.246

June 1558 he was ordered to have his Cinque ports sailors at an hour's notice to serve under the lord admiral. In November, when the queen lay on her deathbed he was commanded to "send some good and substantial spiall from Rye to Dieppe" to find out why ships were being fitted out in the latter port.<sup>(1)</sup> Within a few days the queen was dead, and within two months the lord warden was also in his tomb.

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(1)C.S.P.Domestic 1547-80 p.103. A.P.C.VI p.434.



## Chapter XI   Lands and Houses

Land was the basis of the income whereby the Tudor sovereigns governed their realm. It also provided the bulk of the wealth which was possessed by their servants and courtiers. Many of these servants were considerable landowners before the monastic dissolution, but all our six men died in occupation of more church than lay land.

There was a not very surprising tendency for these men to obtain estates by lease, purchase or occasionally by royal gift, in areas where they already had inherited acres or family connection. Audley concentrated on his native Essex and the neighbouring north-eastern Herts. Browne, from a Surrey family, and Fitzwilliam, his half brother, a Yorkshireman born but brought south in childhood, had most of their possessions in Sussex, Surrey and western Hants, areas which bordered on each other. Denny, probably born at Cheshunt, specialised in Herts and the adjacent western Essex, while Cheyne, man of Kent and native of Sheppey, was overwhelmingly a Kentish landowner. The Wallop family properties were in Hants, but his modest monastic spoils were further west.

Such a policy of concentration probably arose from the desire for convenience of management, local pride and the wish for local influence, and the government's approval of the acquisition of church land in their own areas. To have prominent household and royal servants holding important lands in a given area would tend, through them, to strengthen government influence in such matters as the maintenance of law and order, the collection of revenue, internal and external defence, parliamentary elections and so forth.

By 1531 Thomas Addley was acquiring land in east Essex both by lease and royal grant. The manor of West Mersey he leased from the college of Higham Ferrers, Northants,<sup>(1)</sup> and from the crown he obtained fifty-four acres, nine houses and a watermill in the Colchester area.<sup>(2)</sup> This was his native district but it seems unlikely that he had any inherited lands there. There is no mention of any in his inquisition post mortem, while in his will he expressly denied possessing any "old inheritance." The dissolution of the small monasteries in 1536 brought him the priory of St. Botolph in Colchester with the manor of Blindknights and other lands and spiritualities around Colchester.<sup>(3)</sup> In the same year he bought from a private person some land in West Donyland<sup>(4)</sup> and secured a lease from the crown in April of the manors of Terlyng and Lighes, converting it into a grant in the October following.<sup>(5)</sup> From the still undissolved greater abbey of St. John in Colchester, with which he had exchanged some lands in 1536,<sup>(6)</sup> he obtained in 1538 two properties, the Pye in Layer de la Haye and Gosbecks in Stanway,<sup>(7)</sup> and from the monastery of St. Osyth he obtained the manor of Abberton in Essex and various lands in Suffolk.<sup>(8)</sup> In 1539 he was granted three manors, Thurroke Parva, Withfields in Ilford and Fulkes in Barking, which had escheated to the crown, and he was also given land in the vicinity of Colchester which had belonged to the guild of St. Helen in that town, voluntarily dissolved,<sup>(9)</sup> while from Sir Richard Rich he bought lands in Terlyng and some pensions and income, all formerly belonging to Lighes monastery.<sup>(10)</sup> The manor of

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(1) L.P. XVII; 714(8). (2) L.P. V; 166(1). (3) L.P. X; 1015(29)

(4) L.P. XI; 519(10). (5) L.P. XI; 943(8), XIII. i. p. 577

(6) L.P. XI; 385(1), 519(6). (7) L.P. XIII. i. 1115(44)

(8) L.P. XIII. i. 1519(63), ii. 249(I). (9) L.P. XIV. ii. 619(31)

(10) L.P. XIV. ii. 780(31)

Easthorpe and the hundred of Lexden he bought in October 1536, sold in the following December and repurchased<sup>A</sup> in July 1537, securing from the crown release from the annual rent of four marks, and the half yearly sheriff's tourn, with waifs, strays and other liberties, in the same year.<sup>(1)</sup> The manors of Giberake and Layer Marney were bought from Sir Thomas Poynings and their sale confirmed by act of parliament in 1540.<sup>(2)</sup> The small foundation of the Crutched Friars, Colchester, was granted in 1542<sup>(3)</sup>. He bought the manor of Great Tey from Sir Francis Brian in 1542.<sup>(4)</sup> He also was possessed of the manor of Woodham Ferrers, near Chelmsford, and lands in the vicinity of London at Stratford, Hackney, East and West Ham, Lea mouth and Old Ford.<sup>(5)</sup>

It was from Walden, (now Saffron Walden) in north west Essex that lord chancellor Audley took the title of baron Audley of Walden in November 1538. The dissolved monastery of Walden had been granted to him as recently as the preceding May, with six manors in the vicinity, besides lands and spiritualities in London, Middlesex, Herts, Cambridge, Oxon., Northants and Warwicks. The total grant had a clear yearly value of £372.<sup>(6)</sup> He added to his property in this area when in 1539 he bought another manor of Walden and lands from the duchy of Lancaster,<sup>(7)</sup> and in 1541 secured a grant of the valuable manor of Great Chesterford, once belonging to Westminster abbey.<sup>(8)</sup> Next year he received the monastery of Tilty, to the south of Walden.<sup>(9)</sup> Tilty, Herringswell in Suffolk and some liberties in Great Lighes and Debden

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(1) L.P. XI; 943(12), 1417(26), XII.1.411(14,15), 1008(25).

(2) L.P. XV; 498(iii.c.76). (3) L.P. XVII; 285(2). (4) L.P. XVII; 362(42). (5) P.R.O.; E.150.70.3. C.R.O.; P.C.C. F.1.ALEN. L.P. XVIII.1.100(10). (6) L.P. XIII.1.1115(23)

(7) L.P. XIV.1.651(59). (8) L.P. XVI; 678(36) (9) L.P. XVII; 285(2)

were acquired on very favourable terms. In September 1542 Audley paid the augmentations office £50.15s.10d. in full settlement, this figure being about the annual value of the properties.<sup>(1)</sup> Again in the Walden area, in 1543 he bought the manor of Chawreth from a private person.<sup>(2)</sup> At his death he had also in the area manors called Butlers, Westleys, Manhall and Bollisgrove, Bengenhoo and Debden.<sup>(3)</sup>

At some time Audley also possessed the manor, park and lands at Stebbing in Essex.<sup>(4)</sup>

Across the Hertfordshire border from Walden, Audley had since 1534 held the manors of Braughing and Milkeley granted to him with Christchurch monastery, London.<sup>(5)</sup> From the abbey of St. Mary of Graces near the Tower he obtained the manor of Buntingford in 1538 (with Gore in Kent)<sup>(6)</sup> and in 1540 he bought privately the manor of Little Hormead, also formerly of this abbey.<sup>(7)</sup> In 1537 he had bought from Holywell priory, Middlesex, the manor of Giberake, also of the Buntingford area and at his death he had the manor of Friars in Braughing, which had belonged to Holywell priory.<sup>(8)</sup>

Audley's will shows that in addition to lands in Essex and Herts, for which inquisitions post mortem were taken, he had also a number of manors in Suffolk. Desning, Talmages, Shardelows in Cavenham, and Pashelows he bought of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk in 1538,<sup>(9)</sup> and Herringswell, obtained in 1542, was formerly part of the property of St. Edmund's abbey at Bury.<sup>(10)</sup> He also had other Suffolk lands, called Abotts in Denham and Cresseners.<sup>(11)</sup>

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(1) P.R.O. E.323.2B.pt.1.m.28. (2) L.P.XVIII.i.802(60).  
 (3) P.R.O. E.150.70.3. (4) L.P.XXI.I.717(4). (5) L.P.VII; 587(10). (6) L.P.XIII.ii.967(33), 969. (7) L.P.XVI; 305(12). (8) L.P.XII.ii.1027, V.C.H.Herts.III.p.314; It seems that there was a Giberake in both Essex and Herts. (9) L.P.XIII.I.1115(51). (10) L.P.XV; 285(2).  
 (11) L.P.XX.i.465(85).

In Cambridgeshire he had lands near Reach,<sup>(1)</sup> and the manor of Chalers in Whaddon,<sup>(2)</sup> and in Staffordshire the manor of Drayton Bassett.<sup>(3)</sup>

Lord chancellor Audley maintained a number of private residences. There are frequent references to a house at Berechurch in Essex, a little south of Colchester,<sup>(4)</sup> some of his earliest deliveries of grants as keeper of the great seal being made from here in 1532.<sup>(5)</sup> The inquisition post mortem shows that he had here an estate of 2,800 acres, some of which he received licence to park in 1541.<sup>(6)</sup> There are also references to a house at Brittons beside Barking in 1533-5,<sup>(7)</sup> and at Calais in 1533, although there is no evidence that he ever left English shores.<sup>(8)</sup> He had a house at Colchester, probably St. Botolph's,<sup>(9)</sup> and one at Old Ford which is mentioned in 1535 and 1537.<sup>(10)</sup> He also on occasions resided at Terlyng in Essex.<sup>(11)</sup> In 1533 it was said that the king had made Audley the present of the best house in Westminster, probably the one which we know that he had in Cannon (Canon) Row.<sup>(12)</sup> Although handy to Westminster Hall, this was probably not commodious enough for a lord chancellor, and in 1534 he obtained from the king the Augustinian priory of Holy Trinity or Christchurch, Aldgate. It is described in the grant as "a messuage, a dovecote and garden in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldgate, viz. between the street or lane called Hog Lane on the one side and divers messuages near the highway called Hownsdych on the other; also a great gate with buildings thereon adjoining and a street or lane

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(1) C.R.O. P.C.C. F.1.Alen. (2) L.P.VII;419(27). (3) C.R.O. loc.cit. (4) L.P.V;XI;XII.ii,XIII.ii, XVI;Addenda.1. (5) L.P.V;1207(43,46,47). (6) L.P.XVI;678(31). (7) L.P.VI;927,IX;358. (8) L.P.IX;820,X;270,337. (9) L.P.IX;41,209,310, XIV.i.1219. (10) L.P.IX;358,370, XII.ii.623,667,1075. (11) L.P.XI;296, XII.ii.329,737-8,747,781,805, XIII.ii.249(1). (12) L.P.VI;180.



extending from Hownsdych to the messuage and dovecote aforesaid."<sup>(1)</sup> A second grant soon after defined the limits in more detail, including the parish church of St.Katherine and also the priory's lands in Herts.<sup>(2)</sup>

It has been pointed out that Fuller was mistaken in his belief that "In the feast of abbey lands, king Henry the Eighth carved unto [Audley] the first cut ( and that, I assure you was a dainty morsel) ..."<sup>(3)</sup> Holy Trinity was suppressed in 1532 because it was financially ruined.<sup>(4)</sup> It was worth having, but not a very rich prize. Audley's grant provided him with a fine town house, although he claimed that it was in poor repair.

The inquisitions post mortem on Audley's holdings in Essex and Herts provide comparatively little information about the extent of his lands, but he must have had at least 15,000 acres in north east Essex alone. This, with the adjacent area of Herts, formed his principal holding at the end of his life. More widely scattered were the lands in central and eastern Essex, from the northern boundary south to London.

Audley held land on rent, and he rented lands to others. Much of the income from a manor was in the form of rents, payable on a variety of tenures. These rents were sometimes specified in grants, presumably from tenures of a legal as opposed to a customary nature. The grant of one of the Walden manors by the duchy of Lancaster in 1539, with lands and liberties, etc., specified no yearly value, nor does it appear in the inquisition post mortem; its whole value presumably lay in the rents reserved in the grants and leases, namely £10 from the treasurer of the guild of Holy Trinity in the parish church of Walden, the market held on Saturdays, the c

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(1) L.P.VII;419(28). (2) L.P.VII;587(10). (Badly damaged)  
 (3) T.Fuller The Worthies of England (ed.1840) vol.1.  
 p.507. D.N.B ; Thomas Audley. (4) W.Dugdale Monasticon Anglicanum (ed.1817-30) vol.VI.p.150.

court of pie powder, the office of clerk of the market, a windmill and a malt mill, £4.6s.8d. for tenure in fee of Walden park and the hamlet or "endward" called Little Walden, 20/- from a twenty-one year lease of the warren in Walden and Depden, and £21 from a twenty-one year lease of the manor house (used as a barn), another barn and houses, dovecotes and a field.<sup>(1)</sup> Sometimes rents were specified in kind, e.g bushels of wheat.<sup>(2)</sup>

In 1540 Audley acquired land which had belonged to Margaret Pole in Herts and Essex, on a twenty-one year crown lease.<sup>(3)</sup> He rented the manor of West Mersey for £15 a year from the college of Higham Ferrers, until its dissolution when the rent passed to the crown.<sup>(4)</sup> In 1540 he leased 229 acres of land near Colchester, formerly of St.Botolph's, to his servant Thomas Buckstone for twenty-one years at a yearly rent of £17.0s.8d.<sup>(5)</sup>

Audley quite frequently sold and exchanged lands. This may have been partly for reasons of convenience and consolidation, but it seems that he was also in the land market for speculative reasons, and he was the only one among our six men of whom this can be said. In 1532 he was complaining to Cromwell that he was having to sell land to pay his expenses, but this cannot have been true of his later years.<sup>(6)</sup> The manor of Chalers in Cambridge, bought in 1534, is not in his will, nor are the manors of Much Shelford and Bottisham in the same county bought in 1535 and the sale confirmed by act of parliament,<sup>(7)</sup> nor the lands in west Suffolk that he bought of St.Osyth's abbey in 1538.<sup>(8)</sup> All must have been sold by him before his death. He presumably also sold his

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(1)L.P.XIV.i.651(59). (2)L.P.XIV.ii.619(31). (3)L.P.XV; 282(12). (4)L.P.XVII;714(8). (5)C.P.R.Ph.&Mar.I.p.271  
 (6)L.P.VI;927,976. (7)Statutes of the Realm. III.p.619  
 (8)L.P.XIII.i.1519(63).

manor of Aspesden in Herts, one of the Christchurch manors, for the crown made a grant of it in 1544.<sup>(1)</sup> Two of the Suffolk manors, Shardelowes and Pashelows, were disposed of. In 1536 he sold some of the St. Botolph property in Colchester to his cousin John Christmas.<sup>(2)</sup> He surrendered to the king his Essex manor of Argentynes in Fordham in 1537, the reason not being stated in the grant.<sup>(3)</sup> He sold lands and houses in Lambourn, Essex, which he had received from the king with some other late possessions of the bishop of Norwich in 1538.<sup>(4)</sup> The former Walden monastery possession of Chipnam manor in Cambridgeshire with its rectory and vicarage was disposed of in 1538.<sup>(5)</sup> Next year the manor of Birchenholt in Herts, perhaps part of the Christchurch lands, was sold.<sup>(6)</sup> In 1540 some more Walden property went - South Mymms rectory and Monken Hadley manor, Middlesex,<sup>(7)</sup> and in 1541 lands in Ilford and Barking.<sup>(8)</sup> The manor of Easthorpe was sold for a second time in 1542.<sup>(9)</sup> In 1543 in return for the manors of Layer Marney and Giberake, Essex, granted to the king, Audley and Sir Thomas Pope received a grant of lands of which the chancellor's share was the marsh of Leamouth, Essex, and the priory or cell of Avecote in Warwicks with spiritualities in the midlands.<sup>(10)</sup> A month later he sold Avecote to a London mercer's wife.<sup>(11)</sup> The houses and shops within the precincts of Christchurch, London, and in the adjacent parish of St. Botolph without Aldgate, were presumably rented out, but between 1538 and 1541 Audley sold at least three of them, - houses with shops, cellars and gardens, and the "Saracen's Head", the last to an

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(1) L.P. XIX.ii.166(56). (2) L.P. XI;519(9). (3) L.P. XII.ii.1311(2). (4) L.P. XIII.i.887(1). (5) L.P. XIII.i.1115(45). (6) L.P. XIV.ii.619(4). (7) L.P. XV;612(6). (8) L.P. XVI;1056(53), 1135(3). (9) L.P. XVII;1012(43). (10) L.P. XVIII.i.100(10). (11) L.P. XVIII.i.802(12).

Essex man, a yeoman of the king's guard, for £67.0s.10d. The regular soldier's dream of retirement in his own "pub", recently still quite common, had ancient roots.<sup>(1)</sup> In the year of his death, 1544, Audley sold some spiritualities in Essex,<sup>(2)</sup> including tithes in Colchester, the latter being perhaps the last piece of business of this sort that he did, for it was completed by his executors.<sup>(3)</sup>

A not uncommon form of bargain was the exchange of lands and rents, of which we have already noted some examples. Audley exchanged lands with Holywell priory,<sup>(4)</sup> with St. John's Colchester,<sup>(5)</sup> with St. Mary of Graces,<sup>(6)</sup> and with the king.<sup>(7)</sup> From a letter which he wrote to Cromwell in 1539 it appears that he had been disappointed in his hopes of getting either St. Osyth's abbey or St. John's Colchester. Pleading his poverty and the crown's obligations to him in a characteristic manner, he asked for the manor and parsonage of Chesterford and the manor of East Donyland in return for his St. Botolph lands in Colchester and the three parsonages of Edmonton, Enfield and High Eyston. The yearly value of the crown's lands exceeded that of those which he offered, he declared, by "only" £21 - in fact a fifth of the total value.<sup>(8)</sup> How successful he was is not clear. The lands he offered are not in his will and the crown certainly had Edmonton and Enfield parsonages.<sup>(9)</sup> He did not get East Donyland and had to wait till 1544 for Chesterford.

In 1533, the year he was made lord chancellor, Audley asserted that he had not got lands worth more than 200 marks a year.<sup>(10)</sup> In the 1539 letter mentioned above he put the figure at under £800, which he still made cause for complaint. By the end of his life he had certainly

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(1) C.P.R. Edw. VI I.p.297, II.p.26, L.P. XIV.1.220, 403(5), XVI;580(101). (2) L.P. XIX.1.80(64). (3) L.P. XIX.1.503.  
 (4) L.P. XII.11.1027. (5) L.P. XIII.1.1115(44). (6) L.P. XIII.11.967(33), 969. (7) L.P. XVIII.1.100(10), XXI.11.200(28).  
 (8) L.P. XIII.11.764. (9) L.P. XIV.11.75, XIX.1.810(32), XXI.11.648(51), (10) L.P. VI;927.

bettered this figure. Information from grants and inquiries is incomplete, but he had at least £770 in Essex, and £150 in Herts, besides Christchurch and his lands in other counties.

Among our men the nearest neighbour to Audley was Anthony Denny of Cheshunt, Herts. A younger son, his inheritance was probably small, perhaps including the manor of St. Giles in Herts, which is described as part of his inheritance, but the document which so calls it gives the same description to other lands which he undoubtedly acquired by grant or purchase.<sup>(1)</sup>

His first step in building up considerable estates was the grant in 1536, for a yearly rent of 40/-, of the small nunnery of St. Mary, Cheshunt. Its annual value was only £20 and this included the site and precincts, lands in south east Herts, south west Essex, Middlesex and London as well as a fair held at the chapel of St. Giles near Enfield on the feast of St. Giles the Abbot.<sup>(2)</sup> At the dissolution the inmates consisted of the prioress, three nuns and eight servants.<sup>(3)</sup> Denny had already bought the wood and cattle for £43.3s.0d.<sup>(4)</sup> In 1538 came a more important acquisition. The priory of St. Mary, Hertford, a cell of St. Alban's, was granted to Anthony Denny and Joan Champernowne "whom the said Anthony is going to marry." The grant included site and buildings, three manors in Herts, namely Hertford Priors, Pirton and Bibbsworth, the manor of Ichington in Warwicks, and various spiritualities, annuities and liberties in the Midlands and Eastern counties. The annual value was £72.<sup>(5)</sup> To this was added in 1540 the manor of Amwell,

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(1) L.P. XIX.1.25. (2) L.P. XI; 519(12), B.M. Stowe ms. 141 f. 17. (3) V.C.H. Herts. III. pp. 427-8. (4) Archaeologia XLIII. p. 235. (5) L.P. XIII. I. 384(47)

four miles N.N.E. of St.Albans, formerly a possession of Westminster abbey, together with a house in Hertford and lands in the vicinity that had belonged to a Kentish priory.<sup>(1)</sup>

In 1544 there was made by an act of parliament a complicated exchange of lands between the king, Anthony Denny, his nephews John Denny and George Dacres, and involving his brother Thomas Denny and brother in law Robert Dacres, both deceased, with Robert as executor to Thomas and Anthony as executor to Robert.<sup>(2)</sup> The upshot as far as Anthony was concerned was that in return for the manors of St.Giles, Herts, and Ichyngton, Warwicks, and the rectory of Cheshunt, which last he had obtained from Westminster abbey some time after 1537,<sup>(3)</sup> he was given the former St.Alban's manor of Parkbury by the crown. It was a rich one, valued at £125 a year, with holdings in an area stretching from the Watling Street to within two miles of Hertford and from just south of St.Albans to Elstree.<sup>(4)</sup> In 1546 he bought from a private person another St.Alban's manor, that of Mereden or Munden, near Watford.<sup>(5)</sup>

After Henry VIII died, in accordance with his will secretary Paget and Denny and Herbert of the privy chamber made depositions as to his intentions re titles and rewards. Paget deposed that the king had intended lands to the annual value of 300 marks for Denny.<sup>(6)</sup> In June 1547 a grant was accordingly made. Denny was given the manor of Bedwell and Little Berkhamstead in Herts and lands in Essex and Suffolk. Bedwell and Berkhamstead had been possessions of the attainted marchion-

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(1) L.P.XV;1027(25). (2) L.P.XIX.i.25, V.C.H.Herts,II pp.424-5, Biographia Britannica V p.114 note D.  
 (3) L.P.XIX.i.276(25,76). (4) V.C.H.Herts II pp.424-5.  
 (5) L.P.XXI.i.1166(73 p.582). (6) Burnet Reformation II. p.41

ness of Exeter.<sup>(1)</sup>

The grant of Cheshunt nunnery gave Denny some land in the Waltham area of Essex, adjacent to Cheshunt. In 1541 the crown granted him a twenty-one years lease of Waltham Grange, formerly the property of Waltham Holy Cross monastery, with its buildings (except the forge and stable for the king's chariot horses), the demesne lands of the monastery, the rectory of Waltham Holy Cross, and the manor and rectory of Nazeing.<sup>(2)</sup> This lease was extended in 1545 for thirty-five years, making fifty-six in all, applying to an area reduced by a park of four hundred acres enclosed by the king.<sup>(3)</sup> The 1547 grant following Paget's deposition gave Denny reversion of this property, with other nearby lands and the site and precincts of Waltham Monastery. Thomas Cromwell's manor of Holyfield Hall near Waltham was granted to Denny in 1542, the demesne lands being leased for twenty-one years to Denny's nephew, John Cary, a page of the privy chamber.<sup>(4)</sup> He bought Harrold Park, late of Waltham monastery, from John Dudley, earl of Warwick, in 1547.<sup>(5)</sup> In the same year he made a much larger purchase from Sir Ralph Sadler, - the manor of Woodredon in Waltham, the manor of Sewardston, south of Waltham, and the manor of Nazeing, north of Waltham, the last of which he already had on a crown lease when the three manors had been granted to Sadler in June 1547.<sup>(6)</sup>

Denny's Herts and Essex lands lay in an area which stretched from Watford and St.Alban's to Epping forest. He also had some outlying properties. The site and buildings of the dissolved chantry or college of Mettingham

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(1)V.C.H.Herts.III.p.429, C.P.R.Edw.VI Ip243. (2)L.P.XVI;p.727. (3)L.PXX.i.p.678. (4)L.P.XVII;137(1).  
 (5)C.P.R.Edw.VI.I.p.166. (6)C.P.R.Edw.VI.I.p.225.

near the north eastern border of Suffolk, were granted to him in 1542, with the manors of Mettingham, Ilketchall, Shipmeadow, Bromefield and Mellis in Suffolk and Perryhall, How, Holmhall and Ling in Norfolk.<sup>(1)</sup> The clear yearly value of these properties in the Valor Ecclesiasticus is £191.10s.0½d. and spiritualities at £10.17s.5d.<sup>(2)</sup> For them Denny paid the very favourable price of £1000, which is five years purchase.<sup>(3)</sup> The June 1547 grant gave him the former monastery of Sibton, near the Suffolk coast, with the manor of Sibton and the manor of Rendham. Sibton had been obtained at the dissolution by the duke of Norfolk, now attainted. Before he died, Denny had also obtained the manor of Wenhaston in east Suffolk.<sup>(4)</sup>

In Buckinghamshire Denny was granted in 1541 the park and manor of Parlaunt in Langley, with the advowson of Colnbrook chantry, but he had disposed of these before his death.<sup>(5)</sup> The most distant property of which we have note was the bishop of Exeter's Cornish manor of Pawton, obtained on an eighty years lease in 1547.<sup>(6)</sup>

Denny was owner or lessor of a number of properties in London and Middlesex. His appointment as keeper of Westminster palace in 1536 was accompanied by the grant of the reversion of three houses in Westminster Hall, called Paradise, Hell and Purgatory, and of Potan's House under the Exchequer, a tower, and a house called Greenlattice.<sup>(7)</sup> Early in Edward VI's reign he was given an annuity of £12.13s.8d. in compensation for Paradise, Hell and Purgatory which, with five houses adjoining,

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(1) L.P.XVII;283(43). The college was housed in Mettingham castle - V.C.H.Suffolk II.pp.144-5. (2) Valor E. III.pp.431 et seq. (3) P.R.O. E.323.2B.pt.1.m.29 v. (4) P.R.O. C.142.92.105. (5) L.P.XVI;580(42) (6) L.P.XXI.ii.739. (7) L.P.X.226(35).



the Exchequer had been taken over by the crown as a depository for that department.<sup>(1)</sup> The Westminster premises were attached to the office of keeper of the palace.<sup>(2)</sup> Denny had also Tyburn manor in Marylebone parish<sup>(3)</sup> and sixty acres in the parish of St. Martin in the Fields,<sup>(4)</sup> both on twenty-one year leases from the augmentations and Long Acre and Covent Garden on some other form of tenure.<sup>(5)</sup>

It is worth note that in a number of cases Denny had an official connection with properties which he later acquired. He was keeper of Brantingsley park, of which he was given the herbage and pannage,<sup>(6)</sup> steward and bailiff of Bedwell manor, with herbage and pannage and keeper of the manor house and park,<sup>(7)</sup> keeper of Covent Garden,<sup>(8)</sup> keeper of the site of Waltham monastery and chief steward of the lands.<sup>(9)</sup>

Denny sold but little of the land he obtained. In 1543 he disposed of the manor of Bibbsworth in Herts,<sup>(10)</sup> in 1546 the tithes of three Notts parishes,<sup>(11)</sup> two water mills on the river Ver near St. Alban's<sup>(12)</sup> and eight acres in Reddisham, Suffolk.<sup>(13)</sup> He alienated a house and lands in Mellis, Suffolk in 1545<sup>(14)</sup> and in 1547 sold the manor of Rendham in the same county.<sup>(15)</sup>

The evidence in inquisitions and grants as to the extent of Denny's lands is tenuous but fairly complete on values. In counties for which inquisitions were taken he had in Herts £260 of annual value, in Essex £207 and in Suffolk £160. The Norfolk lands of Mettingham college

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(1) C.P.R. Edw. VI. I. p. 248. (2) C.P.R. Edw. VI. II. pp. 246, 368. (3) L.P. XVII. p. 703. (4) C.P.R. Eliz. I. p. 386. (5) C.P.R. Edw. VI. I. p. 130. (6) L.P. XIII. ii. 734(10), C.P.R. Edw. VI. I. p. 243. (7) L.P. XIV. ii. 780(27). (8) L.P. XVII. p. 691. (9) L.P. XVII. p. 691. (10) L.P. XVIII. i. 226(82). (11) L.P. XXI. ii. 504(47). (12) L.P. XXI. i. 716(20). (13) Cat. Ancient Deeds V. A. 13507. (14) L.P. XX. ii. 910(82). (15) C.P.R. Edw. VI. I. p. 145.

were worth £68 at the dissolution.<sup>(1)</sup> For his Westminster properties he received £12 a year. He had in addition various leased lands in London, Middlesex and Cornwall. The total value was not less than £707 and probably at least £750.

John Wallop, son of a younger son to a Hampshire landowner, had little if any property until, sometime before June 1535, he inherited the land of his uncle, Sir Robert Wallop.<sup>(2)</sup> It consisted of the ancestral property of the manor of Over Wallop in West Hants, south west of Andover, which had been in the family since the thirteenth century,<sup>(3)</sup> the manor of Appleshaw and Reddenham, north west of Andover, and the Wiltshire manor of Allington, just over the border from Wallop. There were also other lands in Hants, - Boltisham, near Kingsclere in the north, and in the east, Farley Mortimer, now Farley Wallop, near Basingstoke, and property in Wield, Soberton and Cosham. Farley Mortimer had belonged to the family since the fourteenth century.<sup>(4)</sup> There was also some land in West Lavant, in that part of Sussex adjacent to Hants. The total annual value was £140, of which Farley Mortimer accounted for nearly half. It is interesting to note that Wallop had managed to get these lands held of the king, not in chief, but as of the royal hundred of Basingstoke at a nominal rent of £1.8s.0d., a device whereby landowners secured relief from some of the more burdensome feudal obligations.<sup>(5)</sup>

To this family property Wallop was able to add monastic land. By comparison with the gains made by the other men we are studying, its total value was extremely

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(1) Valor E. III. pp. 431 et seq. (2) N. H. Nicolas *Testamenta Vetusta* II p. 631. (3) V. C. H. Hants IV. p. 532.  
 (4) V. C. H. Hants III. p. 261, IV. pp. 146, 258.  
 (5) P. R. O. Wards 7.6.51.

modest. In 1538 he was granted the manor and lands of Bury and Barliche in Somerset, the rent of the house and site of the dissolved priory of Barliche, its manor of Morebath in Devon, the manor of Worle in Somerset, late of Worspryng priory, and the farm of Charte in Rowmer, near Titchfield, Hants, formerly of Quarre monastery.<sup>(1)</sup> The total value as given in the inquisition post mortem is £154. This inquisition, taken at Winchester in 1552, is unusual in that it includes lands in no less than five counties instead of the usual one county. It is detailed in respect of values, acreages and buildings, only the area of Charte being unspecified. With this single omission, we learn that he had a total of 6,100 acres, 145 houses and 45 cottages.<sup>(2)</sup>

Wallop had also some rented land. It is possible that he rented land in Dublin from the king,<sup>(3)</sup> and in 1546 he owed the crown through the auditor of Barliche, £138.9s. 1d. which was seven years arrears for the manor of Upton which is adjacent to Bury and Barliche, and which he presumably had at a rent.<sup>(4)</sup> He also had possession of a house at Calais in 1532.<sup>(5)</sup>

William Fitzwilliam, one of the younger sons of a Yorkshire knight, seems to have had little property in the county. In 1526 he had £50 of land, which was half share of all or part of his father's estates.<sup>(6)</sup> His fortune was to be made in the south and the first recorded grant to him was of about four hundred acres of royal land in the Wonersh and Abyngworth districts of Surrey, formerly in possession of the attainted Edmund

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(1)L.P.XIII.1.115(63). (2)P.R.O. Wards 7.6.51.

(3)Carew Mss. Book of Howth - Calendar of, p.228.

(4)P.R.O. E.36.133. (5)L.P.V;1374(2). (6)L.P.IV;1117.

Dudley.<sup>(1)</sup> This grant was in 1511 and was followed in 1513 by the manors of Worplesden and Cleygate on ten-year leases.<sup>(2)</sup> In 1516 these leases were converted to a grant in survivorship with Sir William Compton for a rent,<sup>(3)</sup> and in 1522 again changed to tenure by fealty.<sup>(4)</sup> In 1518 he was granted a piece of waste land in Windsor forest called Potnall park, to be held at an annual rent of one red rose.<sup>(5)</sup> The monastery of Waverley, near to his Surrey estates and just under the £200 limit, qualified for dissolution under the act of 1536. Fitzwilliam, who already had influence in the affairs of the house and who had been chief commissioner for the Surrey commission which assessed tenths of spiritualities, received the site, buildings and lands.<sup>(6)</sup> In Surrey this included the manors of Waverley, Wanborough, and Marwick and Monkenhook, Oxford Grange with lands in the Godalming and Witley districts, and Tongham Farm in Farnham. From his inquisition post mortem it appears that he also had in Surrey an estate called Lynde place, near Chertsey, which he had bought from a John Lynde, and the manor of Downe or Downe Place, near Guildford.<sup>(7)</sup> This last may have been the "mansion" of Guildford which is mentioned in his will but not as such in the inquisition. Between Guildford and the Sussex border he had the manors of Shalford Bradstone and Alfold, which he had inherited from his mother, who had them from her mother, Isabel, wife of John Neville, marquess Montagu.<sup>(8)</sup>

These properties lie in west Surrey. To the south of them in west Sussex, Fitzwilliam built up much more extensive estates. Cowdray, near Midhurst, his main

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(1) L.P.I. 731(55). (2) L.P.I. 1836. (3) L.P.II; 2389.  
 (4) L.P.III; 2749. (5) L.P.II; 3971. (6) L.P.VI; 1006, IX; 452, XI; 202(37), Valor E.II.p.28(7) P.R.B. C.142.70.29., C.R.O. P.C.C. F.16.Spert. V.C.H.Surrey II.p.618.  
 (8) V.C.H.Surrey III.p.109

country seat, he bought from Sir David Owen, bastard to Owen Tudor, in 1528. Sir David reserved the right to live in the house but permitted Fitzwilliam to build provided he was not inconvenienced. His son, Sir Henry Owen objected that his father had only a life interest since the property was his (Henry's) through his mother, Mary Bohun. Sir Henry nevertheless conveyed the reversion to Fitzwilliam.<sup>(1)</sup> By the end of 1529 Fitzwilliam had paid the formidable sum of £2,193.6s.8d. which was declared to be twenty years purchase. The manor was held by Fitzwilliam on a "use", another device for avoiding burdensome feudal liabilities. A group of his friends were the legal owners. It was unlikely that they would all die simultaneously, so the matter of inheritance and possibly wardship and marriage rights was unlikely to arise. But Fitzwilliam had unrestricted use of the property. This practice was limited by an act of 1536. In 1533 permission was granted for the creation at Cowdray of a six hundred acre park and the building and "crenellation" of a house. Fortification was more ornament or "status symbol" than a thing of use, but still required royal licence. The magnificent house which resulted was gutted by fire late in the eighteenth century but is still an imposing ruin. The best account of it is in the work of Sir William St. John Hope, whose conclusion was that the original Bohun house was altered by Sir David Owen and that the main structure was built by Fitzwilliam between 1535 and his death in 1542.<sup>(2)</sup>

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(1) V.C.H. Sussex IV. p. 77. (2) Sussex Archaeological Collections LIV. pp. 114 et seq, LXXVII. pp. 255-6. W.H. St. John Hope Cowdray and Easebourne Priory. J.A.E. Roundell Cowdray. T.C. Banks Baronia Anglia Concentrata. In the Sussex inquisition post mortem, P.R.D. C.142.70.28. the Cowdray estate is valued at only £46 a year in contrast to the £109 annual value placed on it when Fitzwilliam bought.

The same grant which brought Waverley abbey to Fitzwilliam also gave him the small nunnery of Easebourne, which lay near Cowdray and was worth £50 a year. It had but one manor, that of Northing or Worthing, lands between Midhurst and the coast and a number of spiritualities in Sussex and Dorset.<sup>(1)</sup> To this he added in 1541 the chapel of Midhurst with a manor of the same name, formerly the possession of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.<sup>(2)</sup>

In 1537 came further grants, among them two more west Sussex religious houses - Shulbred abbey and Durford priory, as well as some property of Boxgrove monastery, also a Sussex house.<sup>(3)</sup> The Shulbred lands were all in the county, but Durford also had property in Hants, Kent, Wilts and Surrey. The total annual value of these gains is not clear. It was not less than £190 and may have been considerably more.

In Sussex Fitzwilliam also died possessed of the manor of Rustington, half of which he had bought from John Dudley in 1528.<sup>(4)</sup> He had also the manor of Heyshott, granted by the king from the former estates of the earl of Northumberland which he had surrendered to the crown to get himself out of his financial difficulties.<sup>(5)</sup>

He inherited from his mother a half share in the use of the Sussex monasteries of Bayham and Calceto with the manors of Bayham, Calceto, Selham and West Bourne.<sup>(6)</sup> St. Mary, Bayham, was in the north east of the county and was one of the monasteries suppressed by Wolsey for his colleges. Calceto was similarly suppressed. Its correct designation was St. Bartholemew of Pynham, near Arundel, but took its usual name from its obligation to maintain

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(1) L.P.XI;202(37). (2) L.P.XVI;947(56). (3) L.P.XII.ii.1098(19). (4) Sussex Archaeological Collections LXXVII.  
 (5) P.R.O. S.P.1.195.f.196 v. L.P.XII.ii.172. (6) P.R.O. S.P.1.65.p.122. L.P.V;47(5). Statutes of the Realm III.pp.352-5-Act of Exchange of Lands between the King and the Heirs of Viscount Montagu. 22 Hen.VIII.c.21

a wooden bridge and a causeway (chausée, calceto) across the river Arun.<sup>(1)</sup>

In Hampshire, principally on the eastern side abutting on Surrey and Sussex, Fitzwilliam had a good deal of land. In the district around Alton and to the west thereof he had the manors of Neatham and Swarraton and land in Dummer and Ashe. These, with Boyatt manor, south of Winchester, and Dokenfield manor, now in Surrey, were Waverley properties. The 1537 grant brought him the former Durford manor of Buriton and the manor of Bedhampton. In the same district he obtained in 1540 a lease of the important manor of Chalton and a grant of the same in 1542. Together with the manor of Warblington, Chalton had been a possession of Margaret Pole and was granted to Fitzwilliam as chief steward of the lands seized on her attainder.<sup>(2)</sup> He had besides in the county the manors of Eversley, in the north east, and Eastney, near Portsmouth, on a use inherited from his mother, to whom they had come from her brother George, duke of Bedford.<sup>(3)</sup> In 1538 he was trying, apparently without success, to buy lands in Segeyngworth, near Titchfield.<sup>(4)</sup>

Fitzwilliam held what was probably a larger amount of "outlying" lands than any other of our men. In Kent he had all or half of the manor of Leveshoth, part of his mother's Bayham lands.<sup>(5)</sup> In 1539, in return for surrender by his wife and himself of an annuity of £100 from the king, he was granted five widely scattered manors; Hutton Pannel in Yorks, Weston near Baldock in Herts, Edyngworth in Somerset, Bedon in Berks and Roughton in Norfolk.<sup>(6)</sup> He held Hutton Pannell at least as late as

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(1) V.C.H. Sussex II.p.80. (2) L.P. XV; 942(54). (3) V.C.H. Hants III.p.195. (4) L.P. Addenda; 1303. (5) P.R.O. - C.142.88.79, Wards 7.5.30. (6) L.P. III.209.

1542.<sup>(1)</sup> About the others there is doubt. He was supposed to pay an annual rent of £7.5s.4d. for these manors but never did so, for by 1531 he was thirteen years in arrears and as part of a general settlement of moneys owed between himself and the king he proposed to surrender Weston in exchange for Witley in Surrey. There is no evidence that he ever got Witley, but he parted with Weston.

In Berkshire he held the manor of Shaw, near Bedon, both places being a few miles south of Newbury. He had some Durford abbey lands in Shalbourne, and Shaw had been Waverley property. Crokeham, granted in 1542, he had held on a lease from 1540. This was one of Margaret Pole's manors. In Somerset, as well as Edyngworth he had the manor of Queen's Camell, between Castle Cary and Yeovil, granted in 1537, part of a large grant made in that year which also included Shulbred and Durford, Bedhampton in Hants, the Northants manors of Oveston, Torpell, Thorpe and Achurch, which had belonged to Henry Fitzroy, and the Devonshire properties of Torrington, Bovey Tracey and Fremington manors and Fremington hundred.<sup>(2)</sup> The Llanthony abbey manor of South Cerney he was granted in 1539.<sup>(3)</sup>

Fitzwilliam held certain lands on leases. In a number of cases already quoted he converted the leases to more absolute possession, but in 1539 he had a lease from the augmentations office of some of the Chertsey ~~lands~~ abbey lands.<sup>(4)</sup> This lease was granted to him as Surrey bailiff in Windsor forest and became void on his death.

Like lord chancellor Audley, Fitzwilliam had his town

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(1) L.P.XVII.137(67). (2) L.P.XII.ii.1008(19).  
(3) L.P.XIV.i.906(5). (4) L.P.XIV.i.1355, p.608.



residence. At one time he was a neighbour of Audley's in Cannon Row, for references to his house there are found from 1533 to 1536,<sup>(1)</sup> but it was presumably felt that the admiral needed a more commodious residence. He received the fine house of the bishop of Bath, in the Strand next the Temple.<sup>(2)</sup> This was confirmed by an act of parliament in June 1539. The transaction has been described as an example of appropriation by a greedy noble and the reason given for it in the act as "specious".<sup>(3)</sup> The preamble declares that since the king desired to have his nobles near him, where they might with more ease give him diligent service, and considering William, earl of Southampton, high admiral, had no convenient mansion or place of his own near the king's palace, he was to have a better one. We cannot acquit Fitzwilliam of greed, but the reason given for the transfer is quite valid. The day of the episcopal ministers was nearly over and the new men needed accommodation near the court that was in keeping with their dignity. The house and eighteen tenements in the same parish was valued at £36.13s.4d a year in 1546 and by itself at £4.6s.8d. in 1549.<sup>(4)</sup>

There are references to Fitzwilliam at his house at Cowdray in 1535 and from 1538 to 1540, at Bath Place in 1539 and 1541 and 1542, at Guildford in 1525 and 1526, 1533 and from 1535 to 1539, and at Byfleet in 1533 and 1538 and 1539.<sup>(5)</sup>

He does not appear to have sold much land. The manor of Yoxhall in Staffs, granted on the eve of his marriage, with £100 annuity out of the hanaper, was alienated in 1538.<sup>(6)</sup> The lands in Womersh and Abyngworth in Surrey,

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(1) L.P. VI; 762, VII; 270, X; 519. (2) L.P. XIV. i. 867-8, 1171.  
 (3) C.L. Kingsford; Bath Inn and Arundel House; Archaeologia LXXII. pp 273 et seq. (4) P.R.O. E.150.497.3.  
 C.P.R. Edw VI. II. p. 245. (5) L.P. IV, VI, VII, IX, X, XII, ii, XIII. i, ii, XIV. i, ii, XVI, XVII. R.G. Marham Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty. I. (6) L.P. I; 2055(131), XIII. i. 1115(25), 1309(25).

obtained in 1511, are not in the inquisition post mortem nor are the manors of Worplesdon and Cleygate. The piece of waste called Potnall Park in Surrey is also missing from the inquisition.

The available figures for Fitzwilliam's lands in Sussex are not complete, but they show a minimum area of over 7,800 acres. For Surrey the information is almost complete and the total over 3,700 acres. In Hants, less four manors, the total was over 4,600. This gives a grand total of over 16,000 acres, to which must be added a considerable amount of property in other counties. Annual values are similarly very incomplete, but the minimum totals are for Sussex £477, Surrey £88, Hants £265, Middlesex £36, Kent £14 and elsewhere £140, a grand total of at least £1020.

Anthony Browne, only son of a Surrey knight, seems to have inherited little land. Like his half-brother, he received a certain amount from their mother, but the bulk of his holdings were of former monastic property.

In his presumably native Surrey Browne's original holding was probably the two houses and sixty acres of land that he held from the king as of the manor of Byfleet.<sup>(1)</sup> There exists a letter written by him from Byfleet Lodge in 1534. His first traceable acquisition of land was in 1528 when with his first wife, Alice neé Gage, he was granted the manors of Stewton, Lincs., Newhall and Coppenhall, Cheshire, and Eggleton, Rutland.<sup>(2)</sup> Stewton had been returned to the crown by 1530,<sup>(3)</sup> and the remainder, with a third of the barony of Newhall and Nantwich, and other lands in Cheshire, Rutland and Holderness

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(1)L.P.VII;1198. (2)L.P.IV;3991(8). (3)L.P.Addenda L-1; 690.

was exchanged with the crown for a number of Sussex manors in 1537. The Holderness land was the manor of Clayton near Skipsea, granted to Browne in 1530.<sup>(1)</sup>

The manors in Sussex which Browne received in this exchange gave him his first considerable holding in southern England. They had belonged to the earl of Northumberland and comprised reversion of Poynings, Perching, Preston Poynings, Pyngden, Asshecombe, Walderne and Chinting Poynings, with lands in central Sussex from the Brighton-Seaford-Eastbourne coast northward nearly to the Surrey border.<sup>(2)</sup> The next year, while the court was at Fitzwilliam's house of Cowdray, Browne was granted the house, site and demesne lands of Battle abbey, with the manor of Battle and lands in east Sussex and Romney marsh.<sup>(3)</sup> For this he was charged the less than nominal rent of "12d." They did not comprise the whole or even the greater part of the abbey's possessions and in 1539 he bought more of the lands, including the manors of Barnehorne and Mexfield and lands in east Sussex.<sup>(4)</sup> He was granted the manor of Chinting, formerly of Michelham priory and then of Thomas Cromwell, the manor of Sedlescombe, formerly of St. John of Jerusalem, the manor or Brede, late of Syon monastery and land in Surrey in 1541, in exchange for the constablenesship of "Herlao" (Harlech ?) castle in north Wales, lands in Kent and the sum of £400.<sup>(5)</sup>

When Fitzwilliam died in 1542, Browne inherited some of his lands. They were the monasteries of Bayham and Calceto with manors of the same name, the manors of Selham and Bourne, all in Sussex, and the manor of Leveshot in Kent. The brothers had shared these properties since

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(1) Sussex Archaeological Collections LXXVII pp.256-7 L.P.VI;927(37), XIX.ii.527(20). (2) L.P.XII.ii.1311 (34). (3) L.P.XIII.ii.249(8). (4) L.P.XIV.ii.619(3). (5) L.P.XVI;947(43)

their mother, Lucy Browne, had died in 1534. Of Fitzwilliam's other lands, most were left in possession of his wife Mabel, and of these most were to go to Browne on her death. In Sussex these were the priory of Easebourne and the manors of Northing or Worthing, Midhurst, (Cowdray, Easebourne) and Rustington. The manor of Heyshott was to pass from Mabel to Fitzwilliam's bastard Thomas Fisher or Fitzwilliam and then to Browne in default of legitimate male heirs. Shulbred and Durford had reverted to the crown on Fitzwilliam's death without legitimate male issue, but in 1543 Browne obtained a twenty-one year lease of Shulbred and its lands and two years later he bought the reversion of the same from the crown for £420, the money being paid in two installments before the patent was issued.<sup>(1)</sup>

In 1547 he was granted property in Essex and Cambridgeshire and in Sussex the former deanery or College of Hastings, with its site, a small amount of land and some spiritualities, to the total value of £49 a year.<sup>(2)</sup> His last acquisitions in Sussex were the manor and park of Verdeley and the manor of Lodsworth, with other lands, among them a marsh near Arundel that had belonged to Syon nunnery. These were part of the £100 annual value of land given him in accordance with Paget's deposition of the late king's intentions.<sup>(3)</sup>

The area held by Browne in Sussex is very incompletely given in the inquisition, but with those lands of which he had the ultimate reversion from his brother, the total acreage was over 11,000 with a value of £679 per annum for his own lands and £147 for those in reversion.

We have remarked that Browne probably held lands in

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(1) L.P.XIX.i.1036, XX.i.620(48), Sussex Archaeological Collections LXXVII p.258. (2) L.P.XXI.ii.771(3).

(3) C.P.R.Edw.VI. I.p.240.

the Byfleet area as early as 1534. The first dated grant of lands in Surrey came to him in 1541, when by exchange and purchase he obtained from the crown about seventy acres in the Sende and Woking districts, formerly land of Newark priory near Guildford.<sup>(1)</sup> In 1543 he was granted the manors of Purbright, Worplesden and Cleygate for life. Fitzwilliam had also had Worplesden and Cleygate and both grants were connected with the office of keeper of the royal parks of Henley and Bagshot.<sup>(2)</sup> 1544 brought him the site, demesne and lands of the priory of St. Mary Overy in Southwark, the principal property being twenty houses. The annual value was £42.<sup>(3)</sup> In the same year, for nearly £2000 he bought an assortment of properties which had belonged to five religious houses. In Surrey these lands included the manor of East Clandon, formerly Chertsey monastery, the manors of Sende and Jury (Ripley), formerly Newark priory, some land in Fetcham which had been Merton monastery's, two houses in London from St. John of Jerusalem, and a house in Westmorland belonging to Shap monastery.<sup>(4)</sup> The inclusion of the last seems odd, the only connection Browne had with it being that his sister's husband, Sir Thomas Clifford, had part tenure of it, but Browne promptly sold it to a third party.<sup>(5)</sup> He also almost immediately alienated East Clandon.<sup>(6)</sup> It is puzzling that he should have done so for it lay adjacent to Send and Jury and the Fitzwilliam lands in Surrey. These latter, which were to come to Browne after Mabel Fitzwilliam's death, consisted of the Waverley lands, Lynde Place, Downe Place, and the manors of Shalford Bradestone and Alfold, which had belonged to Lucy Browne. In 1544 Browne bought from the earl of

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(1) L.P. XVI; 947(43). (2) L.P. XVIII. i. 474(39). (3) L.P. XIX. i. 1035(150). (4) L.P. XIX. i. 1035(13). (5) L.P. XIX. i. 1035 p. 640. (6) L.P. XIX. i. 1035 p. 641.

Cumberland the extensive but modestly valued manor of Shalford Clifford. The lord had 3,500 acres, but the annual value was only £21.<sup>(1)</sup> Browne's heir, (for Mabel lived until 1550 and Browne died in 1548) was thus able to reunite Shalford Bradestone and Shalford Clifford into the original single manor of Shalford.

The 1547 grant (Paget's deposition) included for Browne the attainted marquess of Exeter's former Surrey manors of West Horseley and Effingham.<sup>(2)</sup> He also had Potnall park in Windsor forest, which had been held by Fitzwilliam, but Browne's immediate predecessor had been the executed earl of Surrey.<sup>(3)</sup>

Leased lands, which do not appear in inquisitions post mortem, must have been important in Browne's Surrey holdings. He had a small quantity of former Westminster abbey lands, valued at £6.1s.8d., in the nominal manor of Townesley.<sup>(4)</sup> He had a twenty-one year lease of Newark priory, from 1541.<sup>(5)</sup> In 1543 he secured fifty year leases of the reversion and rents reserved on the Chertsey abbey lands in Chertsey, Thorpe, Egham, Chobham, Frimley and Ashe. With the site and demesnes of the abbey these leases cost him £272.<sup>(6)</sup> The grant was linked with his office of keeper of Surrey bailiwick in Windsor forest and was to be void when he left the office. This proviso cannot, however, have applied to the site and demesnes of Chertsey abbey, which he left in his will as part of his wife's dowry.<sup>(7)</sup>

In Surrey Browne held, on tenures other than leases, at least 8,500 acres of land, £257 annual value his own and £83 in reversion.

*Browne's inquisition post mortem for Hants is entirely*

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(1) L.P.XIX.1.80(64). (2) C.P.R.Edw.VI I.p.240. (3) P.R.O. Wards 7.5.54. (4) V.C.H.Surrey III.p.433. (5) L.P.XIV.i—68, XVI;1500 p.721. (6) P.R.O. E.315.215 f.70b. L.P. XVIII.i.982 p.557. (7) C.R.O. P.C.C. 10 Coode.

of Fitzwilliam lands of which he had reversion after Mabel's death, or would have had if she had not survived him. They were the Waverley lands, and Eastney and Eversley, which had been Lucy Browne's. The acreage was 4,600 and the annual value £130. Of Fitzwilliam's other lands in the county, lack of legitimate male issue caused Chalton, with Crokeham in Berks, to go to William, Lord Herbert, while the manors of Buriton and Bedhampton reverted to the crown. Warblington had been held on a life grant.

In Kent, Anthony Browne inherited from his mother the valuable manor of Wickambreux, east of Canterbury. Worth £111 a year, it had apparently belonged to his father, had then come into the possession of a cousin, Sir Matthew Browne of Beechworth, Surrey, who in 1541 alienated it to Lucy Browne and her heirs male by Anthony's father. (1) Lucy's manor of Leveshoth in Kent had been shared by Fitzwilliam and Browne and presumably became wholly the latter's when his half brother died. Browne bought another Kent manor, Bayhall, in 1548, but sold it in the same year. (2)

He held lands in Essex and Cambridgeshire, but for these counties no inquisitions are extant. In December 1546 the Essex manors of Woodford and Rounwell Hall, and the Cambridge monastery of Barnwell, with house, site and demesne lands were granted by the king, ("given" according to Browne's will), in recognition of his services. Rounwell Hall had belonged to St. Paul's cathedral and Woodford to Waltham monastery. This grant was the one which also gave him Hastings college, which was to him alone, while the other properties were to him and his second wife. It was delivered on 1 January 1547, just before Henry VIII died. (3) Hastings came into his possess-

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(1) L.P. IV; 6363(28). (2) C.P.R. Edw. VI I. pp. 279, 373.

(3) L.P. XXI. ii. 771(3).

ion but the other part of the grant does not seem to have taken effect. St. Paul's retained possession of Rounwell Hall and exchanged it with the king in the first year of Edward VI and although in his will Browne described the two manors and Barnwell monastery as his own and made them part of the jointure in recompense of his wife's dowry, reversion of all three properties was sold by the crown to the same wife, then Lady Clinton, in 1552 and 1553.<sup>(1)</sup>

In Essex Anthony Browne also had the prebend of West Thurrock or Westroke which had been the property of Hastings college. He had twenty-one year leases of some crown lands near Warwick castle,<sup>(2)</sup> several plots of land in Westminster,<sup>(3)</sup> two houses in the parish of St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street, which had belonged to St. John of Jerusalem,<sup>(4)</sup> and a house called le Nest or le Nete near Charing Cross, formerly of Westminster abbey.<sup>(5)</sup>

He had no London residence to compare with Audley's or Fitzwilliam's. There are three houses mentioned in his will, presumably his principal homes. They were Battle, Cowdray and Byfleet, in the last of which he died Cowdray was legally Mabel Fitzwilliam's until her death but Browne was certainly in occupation during his lifetime,<sup>(6)</sup> while a number of its wall paintings were scenes in which he featured - the siege of Boulogne, the army<sup>(7)</sup> at Portsmouth in 1545, Edward VI's coronation procession. Battle was Browne's own special acquisition. He received it in 1538 and was in occupation of the abbot's lodging

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(1) P. Morant History of Essex II. p. 41, C.P.R. Edw. VI IV p. 366, V p. 168. (2) L.P. XVIII. i. 226 (71). (3) L.P. XIII. i. 1520. (4) L.P. XIX. i. 1035 (13). (5) C.P.R. Edw. VI I. p. 246 (6) L.P. XX. ii. 63. (7) Archaeologia III p. 239.



three months afterwards. He had alteration and construction work carried out, receiving licence to "embattle and fortify" the buildings in 1544.<sup>(1)</sup> There is no direct evidence that Browne ever resided at Battle, but there is little to show that he dwelt anywhere save at the court. It was in the tomb that he had built in Battle church that he chose to be buried, alongside his first wife, Alice

William Cheyne of Shurland in the Isle of Sheppey, who died in 1487, left to his elder son Francis an inheritance of land in Kent to the annual value of about £80. It included Shurland and other lands in or near the Isle, the manor of Lower Bilsington on Romney Marsh and half the manor of Patricxbourne near Canterbury.<sup>(2)</sup> This property was enjoyed by William's brother, Sir John, Lord Cheyne, until he died in 1499, when Francis was seventeen years old and already two years married. From Francis it passed in 1511 to Thomas Cheyne. It is possible that the inheritance included also some lands in Sussex. To this patrimony Thomas was to make great additions, mainly in Kentish lands and mainly in former church possessions. In Kent the bulk of his gains was in Sheppey and the area to the south between the Medway and Canterbury.

The first recorded acquisition was a ninety-nine year crown lease of certain property which had belonged to the priory of Davington. It was granted in 1536. This priory or nunnery had rather petered out than suffered dissolution. By 1526 only the prioress, one nun and one secular sister or novice remained. The nun died that year, the prioress in 1535, the secular sister left and

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(1) Roundell Cowdray p.15, Sussex Archaeological Collections XVI.p.135 n., T.Thorpe Catalogue of the Muniments of Battle Abbey p.141, L.P.XIX.i.1035(150).  
 (2) C.Inq.P.M. Henry VII II.no247.

the priory was deserted. An inquisition was taken before an escheator of Kent and the lands fell to the crown.<sup>(1)</sup> In 1546 Cheyne bought the lands, site, buildings and spiritualities, all situated in Kent.<sup>(2)</sup>

The first substantial grant of church lands to Cheyne was the ancient Saxon foundation of St. Sexburgha in Sheppey, known as the nunnery of Minster. This was dissolved under the 1536 act and Cheyne, who was steward of the nunnery's lands, presided over the board which inventoried its property in 1537.<sup>(3)</sup> He then bought all the stock, store and cattle for £198 and in December 1537 was granted the site, buildings, some of the lands in Sheppey, on the mainland to the south and in Canterbury to the total value of £77 a year.<sup>(4)</sup> The grant was made in exchange for the manors of Leigh and Barnegrave in Sussex, adjacent to Romney Marsh, probably inherited land. In 1546 he secured a twenty-one year lease of the Sexburgha properties of the manor of Upbury (Gillingham) and the rectories of Upbury and Minster in Sheppey, and he bought them outright in 1546.<sup>(5)</sup>

The abbey of Faversham, over the £200 limit, escaped dissolution in 1536. In 1538 Cheyne bought from the abbot 350 acres of land in the Isle of Harty (east Sheppey).<sup>(6)</sup> In 1539-40 he secured some of its lands and tithes near Faversham, and, for £283, paid in two instalments, the reversion of the house and site of the abbey and Negdon marsh on the Swale north of Faversham.<sup>(7)</sup>

To the half manor of Patricxbourne which he inherited, Cheyne added by royal grant in 1540 the other and more

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(1) L.P.X;176. (2) L.P.XXI.ii.200(10). (3) L.P.X;562.  
 (4) W.Bramston *History of Minster* p.35, L.P.XII.ii.1311(16)  
 (5) L.P.XV;p.556, XXI.ii.200(10). (6) L.P.XIII.i.585,646(64)  
 (7) L.P.XV;436(45), P.R.O. E.323.no.1.pt.2.p.72, L.P.XIV.  
 ii.236 p.72. The £283 paid for this grant included  
 two houses in the Blackfriars, London.

valuable half, with the rectory. It had belonged to Merton monastery.<sup>(1)</sup> At the end of the same year he was granted the manor of Chilham which the crown had obtained from Thomas earl of Rutland, and its rectory, which had belonged to Syon nunnery, the whole property worth £130 a year. By the same grant he was given lands in Teynham which had belonged to Thomas Cromwell and which the king had of him, presumably before his attainder for this is not mentioned in the grant.<sup>(2)</sup>

A twenty-one year lease of the manor of Sturry near Canterbury, with the abbot's house there was granted in 1541. The manor had belonged to St. Augustine's abbey in Canterbury. The lease was converted into grant of possession in 1550 and the chapel of Molash, near Chilham, included. The Valor Ecclesiasticus assessed Sturry and the abbot's house at £45 a year, but the 1550 grant valued it at £67.5s.7½d. and Cheyne was charged £1,345,12s. 6d, which is twenty-years purchase to the nearest penny with Molash thrown in free. By the same deed he was given possession of the half manor of Patricxbourne, of Chilham and the Teynham lands, all of which he already held. The earlier grants did not mention purchase price, but in 1550 he was required to pay £646.10s.0d. for these properties.<sup>(3)</sup>

Only Cheyne among our six new men benefitted in any degree from the continued plundering of the church in the reign of Edward VI. Fitzwilliam and Audley were dead by 1547, Browne died in 1548 and Denny in 1549. Wallop, at Guisnes from 1541 to 1551 when he died, never a privy councillor and no longer a courtier, was in no position

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(1)L.P.XV;436(45). (2)L.P.XVI;379(58). (3)L.P.XVI;1500, Valor E.I.p.17, C.P.R.Edw.VI III.p.342.

to exact a share of the loot. Browne obtained one or two small rents hitherto payable to chantries in respect of lands which he held and Denny did the same. The sums involved ranged from 7d. to 6s.10d a year.<sup>(1)</sup> Cheyne was the exception. In March 1549 he purchased from the crown four Kent chantries and their lands. They were, Shepham's chantry in the church of Ash, near Sandwich; Busher's chantry in Sittingbourne; two chantries in Reculver parish, the one called Holy Trinity in Reculver church and the other Holy Cross in Hoath to the south of Reculver. They were not very rich but probably richer than the grant states. It declared that the total annual value was £13.9s.1½d., no one of them exceeding £4. The Valor Ecclesiasticus gives no figure for Shepham's and does not mention Busher's, but it gives Holy Trinity as £7.0s.4d. clear and Holy Cross £3.14s.2½d. clear. The inquisition post mortem gives clear yearly values of £20 for Shepham's, £14 for Holy Trinity and £9.10s.0d. for Holy Cross either by itself or possibly with Busher's, for the document is damaged at this point. These later figures are admittedly from April 1559, ten inflationary years after the grant, but the disparity is too great to be due merely to the price rise. It seems likely that they were sold to Cheyne at a bargain price, but since twenty times the annual value was the normally accepted figure, a reduction in annual value was the means employed.<sup>(2)</sup>

The chantry grant was part of a transaction involving far more valuable properties. Cheyne paid the augmentations, in advance, the sum of £3,228.19s.0d. for the chantries and the manors of Northcourt, Denton, Plumford

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(1) C.P.R. Edw. VI II. pp.37, 75, 389, 416, 425, III. pp.226, 257. (2) C.P.R. Edw. VI II. p.291.

Payntures, Wycherling and Queencourt, most of which are in the area south of Faversham and Ospringe. Also the manors of Bradhurst and Merecourt, south of Gillingham, and Perrymarsh in Harty. These lands had belonged to St.Stephen's chapel, Westminster. Here again the estimated annual value seems to have been depressed to Cheyne's advantage. In June 1548 an augmentations document records the sale to him of the first five of the above mentioned manors for £239l.1s.4d., at twenty years purchase, i.e. an annual value of £119.2s.9d.<sup>(1)</sup> In the 1549 grant all the St.Stephen's manors involved, plus the manor of Wittersham, valued at £16.16s.1½d. in the Valor Ecclesiasticus, and perhaps two of the chantries, are given a yearly value of £115.7s.0½d.<sup>(2)</sup> The manor of Wittersham had belonged to the college of All Saints Maidstone, and the grant included also two other manors from the same religious house, those of Tremworth and Fames, with lands mainly in the Canterbury district.

Cheyne had continued to add to his acres in Sheppey. The Sexburgha lands in 1537, Faversham lands in Harty in 1538, the rectories of Minster and Eastchurch in 1546 had been joined to his inherited land. To these he added in 1550 £8 of land which had belonged to St.Katherine's by the Tower and then to the attainted Thomas Seymour. For this he paid £160.<sup>(3)</sup> Here also the valuation was low, for in his inquisition the same land stands at £44. At some time early in Henry VIII's reign he had bought half of the manor of Norwood near Minster.<sup>(4)</sup> In 1549 he secured the other half from a private owner, by payment of £100 to clear existing "debts, arrerages, reckonings

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(1) A.Hussey Kent Chantries. II.pp.331-3. (2) Valor E. I.p.76. (3) C.P.R.Edw.VI III.p.43. (4) E.Hasted History of the County of Kent. VI.

and accounts." Also 800 marks for the purchase of land to the annual value of 40 marks. Cheyne went to the length of having the agreement ratified by the privy council. On the other hand, royal licence to alienate had not been granted and in 1553 the justices levied a fine and granted a pardon to the parties for the trespass.<sup>(1)</sup>

In 1554 Cheyne obtained 154 acres in Sheppey which had belonged to William Crowmer, attainted for his part in Wyatt's rebellion.<sup>(2)</sup> In 1556 he bought from the crown the manor of Calehill in Sheppey. This was not church land and in this case he would seem to have paid a more than fair price. The sum charged was £293.13s.4d. and in the inquisition the annual value is only £8.<sup>(3)</sup>

The largest recorded payment for lands made by Cheyne is £3,778.11s.9d. in "ready money" to the augmentations for a grant of June 1553. In this he was given the manor of Langport in Canterbury and the manor of Fordwich nearby. These had belonged to St. Augustine's Canterbury. With them was given the manor of Cheyne or Cheyneycourt on Romney Marsh, formerly of the archbishop of Canterbury, and Pettscourt in Bapchild, near Sittingbourne, which had belonged to Dartford priory. Also the manor of Kingsdown, formerly owned by the hospital of the Maison Dieu, Dover, and the manor of Aston Tirrold in Berks. The price was apparently twenty years purchase and once more the assessed values artificially low. Langport, almost £50 in 1553, was £64 in the 1559 inquisition. Cheyneycourt was £120 in each case. Pettscourt £12 in 1553 and £16 in 1559.<sup>(4)</sup>

In the inquisition appears the manor of Geffreys, apparently in the area between Sittingbourne and Faversham. There is no indication as to how or when Cheyne got it.

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(1) A.P.C. II.p.289 et seq. C.P.R.Edw.VI V.p.8. (2) Cat. Ancient Deeds VI.C.7703, C.P.R.Ph.&Mar. II.p.196

(3) C.P.R.Ph & Mar. IV.p.126 (4) C.P.R.Edw.VI V.p.135.

When Cheyne died he was seized of lands which were the inheritance of his first wife, Frideswide, from her father, Thomas Frowyk. An inquisition taken for those in Middlesex shows upwards of £69 annual value of land, nearly all held in sub-tenure, scattered across the county in Willesden, Hendon, Harrow, Harrow Weald, Greenford, Brentford, Acton, Ickenham, Finchley, Harlesden, Kingsbury, Wembley, Neasden, Tottenham, Twyford and Harringay. In right of Frideswide he also had the manor of Eastcourt or Shalbourne in Berks and Wilts, which he had sold by 1548, subject to a life interest of his and Frideswide's daughter Frances and her husband Nicholas Crispe.<sup>(1)</sup> In Berks he also acquired in the large 1553 grant the manor of Aston Tirrold. His second wife, Anne Broughton, was heiress to lands in Bedfordshire, including half the manor of Harlingdon. In 1554 Cheyne bought the other half from the crown for £336. It had belonged to Sir Thomas Palmer, attainted and beheaded with Northumberland.<sup>(2)</sup> Cheyne also had a small amount of land in Sussex and some houses in the Blackfriars, London. These latter he obtained from a reluctant William Lilgrave through the help of Cromwell in 1535. Lilgrave complained that he would never recover the money which he had expended on them, and anyway Cheyne did not need the houses since when he came to London he lodged at the court.<sup>(3)</sup> It is true that we find no evidence that Cheyne ever resided at the Blackfriars and it seems reasonable to suppose that this was the property which he rented to the crown for storing tents, and for which he long forbore to press for payment.<sup>(4)</sup>

Thomas Cheyne was a man who had only one real home.

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(1) P.R.O. C.142.119.114., V.C.H. Berks IV.p.230. (2) V.C.H. Beds.III.p.380, C.P.R.Ph.& Mar.I.p.135. (3) L.P.VIII; 356, Appx.1179, IX; 932, 955, XV; 436(44), XX.ii.200(24), A.P.C.III.p.235. (4) W.C.Richardson History of the Court of Augmentations p.403

"My house at Shurland" was quite plainly his first and only love, probably his birthplace. It is today a ruin, abandoned save for certain outbuildings, but in its day it was an imposing structure. In the Public Record Office there exists a "plot" of the house, made in 1570.<sup>(1)</sup> It is in the form of a sketch from a high angle which reveals the ground plan. The forecourt boasted a large brick built gate house, flanked by two octagonal towers. On three sides of the forecourt were brick built living quarters and on the fourth side was the hall, some hundred feet long, lighted by windows and a lantern tower and built of stone. Behind were two smaller courts, a chapel and a kitchen wing. There were extensive outbuildings, stables and cowhouses for the most part, and a fine walled garden. A survey of the house made in 1575, to ascertain the value of its materials if it were demolished, tells us more.<sup>(2)</sup> There was a dove house, twenty-four stone chimney pieces, (the plot shows only four chimney stacks), stone door surrounds and window frames, glass windows with iron bars, oak and elm wood floors, wainscot panellings in the principal rooms, and tiled roofs. It was in this house that he entertained Henry the king and Anne Boleyn in 1532.

According to Holinshed, Cheyne lived at Shurland in notable state from twenty years before his death. He kept at least twenty great horses and eight or nine geldings in his stables, summer and winter, and sixteen or seventeen geldings at grass. He had in readiness sufficient furniture for them all to serve in the field under a man at arms, and all were fit to do so. So bountiful was his house and so liberal and good his treatment that it

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(1) The "plot" is reproduced in Archaeologia Cantiana XXIII.p.86. (2) B.M.Lansdowne Ms.XX.42.



Was good fortune for any nobleman's or gentleman's son to serve him. He gave livery to two hundred and five servants of whom a hundred and twenty were in his household. He paid and fed them well and generously. He was careful to provide for them in his will, in case they should fall into bad ways after his death, giving annuities to some and a year's wages to others, and the option of board and lodging as long as they remained in his house, until his son Henry attained his majority in three years time.<sup>(1)</sup>

Within a few years of his father's death that same son had sold the house at Shurland that Thomas had loved so well. It was not only the house but the isle in which it stood that was the object of Cheyne's care. He left money for the repair and maintenance of the "Ride" ferry wall and the making of a shelter on the mainland side for the "markett foulke and other comers and goers to stande drye in", and for draining of marshes and building of roads. He specially charged his executors not to cut timber in Sheppey except for necessities, lest "the Isle of Shepy woulde growe in such rewen and decaye for lacke of fuell and other the premysses a thinge beinge so necessarye to be consydered as well for man as for beasts that the countrye woulde be so bleke and coulde as neyther man nor beaste shoulde be able to contynue there nor yett sowe any maner corne but the same woulde be dystroyed wythe cattell."<sup>(2)</sup>

Cheyne sold little of the land which he had inherited or obtained. We have already noted that he exchanged Leigh and Barnegrave in Sussex for the initial Sexburgha

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(1) Holinshed Chronicle IV.p.157., C.S.P.Domestic 1547-80 p.401., J.Harris History of Kent I.p.109., E.Hasted History of Kent VII.p.273., Archaeologia Cantiana VII.p.xl. (2)C.R.O. P.C.C. I Chaynay.

grant. In 1544 he obtained licence to alienate Negdon marsh near Faversham as well as the buildings of the abbey the latter to the Thomas Arden of Faversham, ("Arden of Feversham").<sup>(1)</sup> The All Saints Maidstone manors of Tremworth, Fames and Wittersham do not appear in the inquisition. Tremworth and Fames, north-east of Ashford, had been granted jointly to Cheyne and his son in law, Thomas Kempe. Wittersham, N.N.W. of Rye, was his for life only, with reversion to his daughter Frances Crispe. The manors of Kingsdown and Fordwich he sold within a few months of their grant to him.<sup>(2)</sup> The manors of Fishbourne and Monkton, formerly of Davington priory, and the chapel of Molash are also not in the inquisition.

The badly damaged condition of the chancery copy of Cheyne's inquisition post mortem for Kent and the absence of exchequer and wards copies makes assessment of his landed wealth even less easy than in the other cases we have considered. The total of what can be deciphered is over 15,000 acres with a yearly value of over £1,500, and at least £100 in other counties. In his will he asserted that the "~~ample and~~ verye full and large thirde parte" of all his lands which he had earmarked as the queen's portion for the wardship of his son and heir was of the "clere yearly valewe of nyne hundred and ffyfty pounds and better above all charges".<sup>(3)</sup> If we take this at its face value his total annual value in land was in the vicinity of £2,850.

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(1)L.P.XIX.i.610(116 p.387). (2)C.P.R.Ph.& Mar.I.pp.192, 356. (3)C.R.O. P.C.C. 1 Chaynay.

Note

The State Papers for the reign of Edward VI record that Cheyne paid the crown £315.16s.0d for a grant of land worth £14 a year, the patent dated 8 May 1549.

There is no indication as to where this land lay.

P.R.O. S.P.10.19.f.20

In common with thirty-three other Kent landowners, Cheyne secured in 1539 an act of parliament by which lands held in gavelkind tenure, a form largely confined to Kent and involving the equal division of property between sons, were converted to tenure by knight service. This was confirmed by another act in 1548. It seems that only Cheyne's inherited lands were involved.

Statutes of the Realm III.p.719

J.R.Smith Bibliotheca Cantiana p.32

Inquisitions Post Mortem

		<u>Public Record Office Class</u>					
	County	Chancery II.		Exchequer.		Wards	
		C.142		E.150		Wards 7	
		Vol.	No.	Vol.	No.	Vol.	No.
Audley	Essex	-	-	70	3	-	-
	Herts	-	-	-	-	4	26
Browne	Hants	89	132	994	2	3	128*
	Kent	88	79	499	7	5	30*
	Surrey	89	143	1096	7	5	54*
	Sussex	89	153	1096	8	5	49*
Cheyne	Kent	121	102	-	-	-	-
	Middx.	119	114	-	-	-	-
Fitz- william	Hants	70	56	-	-	-	-
	Middx.	-	-	497	3	-	-
	Surrey	70	29	-	-	-	-
	Sussex	70	28	-	-	-	-
Denny	Essex	90	84*	323	7	-	-
	Herts	90	115*	323	8	-	-
	Suffolk	92	105*	647	8	-	-
Wallop	Hants etc.	54	46	-	-	6	51*

Where there exist two or more copies of an inquisition the best is marked \*.

The following tables are intended to show in a more manageable form the available information about the location, extent, value and forms of tenure of the lands held by each man in the year in which he died. They may be used in conjunction with the sketch maps which follow them.

Most of the information is based on the Inquisitions Post Mortem, supplemented where necessary by the grants calendared in the Record Office publications and by the Valor Ecclesiasticus and the relevant volumes of the Victoria County History. Various other local histories also provided some facts.

## Chapter XII. Sources of Income other than Land

Land tenure and the rent roll was the backbone of the income of most Tudor courtiers, but it was not their only source of supply. Second in importance, in some cases perhaps equal in importance, was the money to be obtained from salaries and profits which went with the holding of offices.

Tudor offices and office holders defy classification. Here was no orderly hierarchy of rank and reward, but a confused and confusing jumble of offices and officers, old and new, real and sinecure, recompensed by wages, "diets", fees, rewards, perquisites, gifts, bribes, board and lodging, and clothing. Most important were the posts in the king's gift, but there were others which were in the gift of the church or of private persons. Some offices were unpaid and are outside the scope of this chapter.

The royal household offered a large number of posts, some of them important. Fitzwilliam and Cheyne were in their time treasurers of the household, one of the principal offices, usually carrying a place in the inner or privy council. Several of our men were king's spears and Browne was captain of the gentlemen pensioners. Browne, Cheyne and Denny were gentlemen of the privy chamber, Denny was a groom of the chamber and yeoman of the robes. Fitzwilliam early in his career had been a cup-bearer and perhaps an esquire of the body in ordinary. Browne was for almost ten years master of the horse.

There were a number of posts which were not household offices, but involved personal service to the king. Among them was Browne's sinecure of royal standard

THOMAS AUDLEY (DIED 1544)

ESSEX: North East.

THOMAS HUDLEY	(DIED 1544)												
	Arable	Pasture	Meadow	Marsh: Heath	Wood	Houses	Mills	Other Buildings	Rents l s d.	Spiritual Value	Clear Yearly Value l. s. d.		
ESSEX: North East.	Acres												
Manor of Berechurch	1000	1000	500		300				6.0.0	Rectory	31 5 6½	In possession by 1542	
In Layer de la Haye			?				Watermill				3.6.8		
Manor of Blindknights										Rectory	26.3.2		
In Layer de la Haye and Peldon	200	100	30			20			1.0.0	Advowson of vicarage	40.0.0		
Butlers in Abberton and Peldon	100	60	400			10					7.6.8		
Crockleford Wood					?				1.0.0		1.0.0	King: military service	
Rent from Manor of Hersteads											3.10.0		
Pensions from various churches													
Portion of tithes from Bostad													
Mile End, Colchester										Rectory	7.10.0 in Val. Eccl.		
Hundred of Larden											3.13.4	Bought in 1542	
Trumpingtons in Great Tey	80	40	30		20	8			1.10.0		5.8.3½		
In Frating	20									Rectory	20.0.0 in Val. Eccl.		
Manor of Great Tey										Rectory and Vicarage	63.18.1		
Manor of Badcocks											14.0.0		
Manor of Abberton											8.6.8	King: military service	
North lands in East Mersey						1							
The Pye in Layer de la Haye						1							
Gosbecks in Stanway						1					12.0.0		
In Stanway and West Donyland	?	200			100								
Manor of Teilyng and Leighes										Rectory	85.11.5¾	King: military service	
Manor of Great Leighes										Rectory and Vicarage	20.0.0		
Hospital of the Crucial Friars, Colchester											7.7.8 in Val. Eccl.	Formerly of the Bishop of Norwich: granted 1536	
The Bell in Colchester						1						King: military service	

ESSEX: South East.

Manor of Woodham Ferrers					56-10-0	} King: duchy of Lancaster: military service
In Woodham Ferrers, Stratford, Hachney, East and West Ham	500	300	200	40	10-0-0	
Sea mouth marsh				?		Formerly of Stratford monastery: granted 1543
Old Ford					1	

bearer.<sup>(1)</sup> Another was the mastership of the King's harriers, held in turn by Fitzwilliam and Browne.

Yet further removed from the household were offices in departments which had "gone out of court" - long gone in some cases. The common lawyers were almost a world of their own, but their heads, the judges, were still the king's judges, paid by him and available to give him legal counsel, while two attorneys, known as king's serjeants at law were also on the royal payroll. Audley had been briefly serjeant at law<sup>(2)</sup> and king's serjeant on his rapid rise to the Woolsack. Fitzwilliam was admiral of England until he vacated the office to take the privy seal in place of the fallen Cromwell. The speakership of the house of commons, an intermittent office, was in effect a royal office, paid by the crown. Audley was speaker of the "reformation parliament" in 1529-1533, when, in the latter year he became chancellor.

Some offices, superficially local, were of national importance and held by leading figures. Among them the most important was the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster, a group of royal estates stretching right across the kingdom and administered almost as a separate realm. Fitzwilliam was chancellor, succeeding Sir Thomas More in 1529, while Audley was for a time attorney general of the duchy. A somewhat similar office was Cheyne's lord wardenship of the Cinque ports. Also in this group may reasonably be placed the office of king's lieutenant (loosely "captain") of the important fortress of Guisnes which covered the pale of Calais and was independent of the similar office of deputy at Calais. The captain was

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(1) This office should not be confused with that of standard bearer of the gentlemen pensioners.

(2) Dugdale Origines Juridicales p.83, L.P.V;559(17).



ESSEX: North West

Arable Pasture Meadows Marsh: Wood Houses Mills Other Buildings Rents Spiritual. Value  
Acres L. s. d. L. s. d.

Monastery of Walden  
Manor of Broke Walden  
Manor of Pounces and Mattens  
Manor of St. Aylotts  
Manor of Abbots in Thunderley  
Manor of Berden  
Manor of Muchous in Arkesden  
Rectory of Great Chissall  
Rectory of Elsenham.

3000 2000 2000 500 200 houses 8 water mills 200 tofts 4 wind mills 100.0.0 58.9.7 25.0.7 17.6.8 8.13.4 23.12.8 24.9.2 15.0.6 8.13.4

King: military service Formerly Walden monastery: granted 1538

[Now in Cambs.]

Manor of Clipping Walden  
Manor of Great Walden  
Manor of Little Walden

Rents of Saturday market in Walden, court of pie powder, clerkship of market, windmill, malt mill, Walden park, Warren in Walden and Debden, great hall of manor of Walden, (used as a barn), other barns and houses, a dovecote, a field.

36.6.8 36.6.8

Duchy of Lancaster: granted 1539

King: duchy of Lancaster: military service

Manor of Butlers  
Manor of Westleys  
Manor of Manhall and Bollisgrove  
Manor of Bengoe (Bowerdars)  
Manor of Debden

? 5.0.0 13.7.6 7.0.0 33.13.4

In possession by 1542

Manor of Great Chesterford

4000 2000 1000

300 60 2 Windmills

40.0.0 Rectory and vicarage 113.17.7½

King: military service Formerly of Westminster abbey: granted 1541

Monastery of Tilty  
Manor of Tilty

28.16.9 20.0.0 Rectory ~ 1542

King: military service Formerly Tilty monastery: granted 1542

Manor of Chaureth

Rectory Rectory

King: military service Bought in 1543

HERTFORDSHIRE

Manor of Braughing  
Manor of Cornebary  
Manor of Mitheloy (Mentley)  
Manor of Giberack (in Ailswick)  
Manor of Westmill  
Manor of Little Horstead  
Manor of Friars (in Braughing)  
Rectory and vicarage: Leyston  
Vicarage: Ailswick  
Rectory: Digswell.

Rectory 50.13.4

54.12.0

?

(5.6.8) - farm in 1537

32.6.8

7.0.0

4.6.8

Rectory and vicarage 9.10.7

Vicarage 5.5.7

Rectory 7.4.0

King: Formerly Christchurch, London: granted 1534

King: Formerly of Holywell m. Nidder: bought 1537 Bought from abbey of St Mary of Graces. 1538 Formerly of St. Mary of Graces: bought 1540

King: Sub-tenure: manor of Gatebury

In possession by 1538

Formerly of Walden monastery: granted 1538

"Governor, Surveyor and Lieutenant of the castle, town and county of Guisnes in Picardy."<sup>(1)</sup>

Below these heights offices descended in importance and scope, from such as Audley's high stewardship of the augmentation lands in the north, Browne's wardenship and chief justiceship in eyre of the king's forests north of Trent with the keepership and mastership of the hunt of the same, and Fitzwilliam's similar office south of Trent through Denny's post as one of the customers and collectors of tunnage and poundage in London and adjacent parts, Cheyne's stewardship of the archbishop of Canterbury's lands and Fitzwilliam's office of constable and steward of the honour of Pontefract, to a wide variety of small appointments. Variety is indeed the main impression left by a welter of appointments as chief or high steward, steward (or seneschal), bailiff, water-bailiff, constable, keeper, porter, warden, lieutenant, portreeve, master, master forester, forester, parker, woodward, collector, receiver or surveyor of various castles, honours, lordships, manors, lands, hundreds, gardens, woods, forests, streams and waters, parks, chases, hunts of deer, royal palaces, mansions, towns, priories, monasteries and cathedrals, under the crown, the church, the duchy of Lancaster, corporations or private persons.<sup>(2)</sup>

It is obvious that such extensive pluralism as is revealed by the lists of offices which our men held made it impossible for them to discharge them all in person. Even Wallop, the least favoured, could scarcely be acting as commander at Guisnes, constable of the castle of Trym in Ireland and keeper of Dogmansfield manor in Hants at

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(1) L.P.III;3027. (2) A list of offices held by our six men, together with the salaries where known, will be found at the end of this chapter.

	Arable	Pasture	Meadow	Heath: Marsh	Wood	Houses	Mills	Other Buildings	Rents	Spiritual.	Clear Yearly Value	
	Acres								l. s. d.		l. s. d.	
SUFFOLK												
Manor of Deseneyng (in Gazeley)												} Bought of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk: 1538
Manor of Cressenvers												
Manor of Talmages												
Manor of Abbots (in Denham)												Bought of St. Osyth monastery: 1538
Manor of Heringswell									18. 12. 4 in val. recd.		18. 12. 4	Formerly of St. Edmund's monastery, Bury: granted 1542.
CAMBRIDGESHIRE												
Lands in Reach and other places in the Fen												
From the manor of Hauston									2. 0. 0		2. 0. 0	Formerly of St. Botolph's, Colchester: granted 1536
OXFORDSHIRE												
Rectory of Aynhoe												} Formerly of Walden monastery: granted 1538
Rectory of Kington									Rectory 4. 0 Rectory 1. 0. 0			
STAFFORDSHIRE												
Manor of Drayton Bassett												
LONDON												
Priony of Holy Trinity, Christchurch	Site, buildings etc: tenements in parishes of St. Katharine, Christchurch within Aldgate and St. Botolph without Aldgate											} Formerly Holy Trinity, London: granted 1534
Rectory of St. Katharine, Christchurch											Rectory	

one and the same time. The solution is equally obvious. Some duties had to be done personally. Audley was fully occupied with his duties as lord chancellor and ipso facto, privy councillor. Some jobs were plainly sinecures. Browne was standard bearer, a duty which would keep him at the king's side when the standard was displayed in battle, but he would be there anyway as master of the horse. Fitzwilliam, and later Cheyne, was treasurer of the household, but the post no longer had any direct financial responsibility and attendance at the board of greencloth was secondary to duty in the council. Some offices were shared, usually "in survivorship". Browne and his eldest son had the standardbearership on these terms.<sup>(1)</sup> Where there were duties that had to be done and the nominal officer was not available, they were discharged by deputy, under officer or man of business. In the household the cofferer did the work for the steward, treasurer and comptroller. As master of the king's harriers, Fitzwilliam, and later Browne, had a paid staff of one senior yeoman, four yeomen and two lads to look after forty-five dogs. It is easy to guess who ran the pack. In many grants of office, specific permission is given to discharge the duty by "sufficient deputy." Audley, as high steward of augmentation lands in the north, had a salaried under steward, paid by the crown. Fitzwilliam, steward of the royal manors of Worplesdon and Witley in Surrey, appointed a sub-steward by formal charter.<sup>(2)</sup> In the case of most of the small offices we must assume that deputies had to be paid by the holder. They would scarcely be full time and their fee might be small, but it must be borne in mind in considering the profits of office.

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(1) L.P.XXI.ii.771(2). (2) Historical Manuscripts Commission 7th report p.600

# ANTHONY BROWNE (DIED 1548)

SUSSEX	Arable	Pasture	Meadow	Marsh	Heath	Wood	Houses	Mills	Other Buildings	Rents	Spiritual	Clear Yearly Value		
	Acres									l. s. d.		l. s. d.		
Monastery of Bayham								Site and buildings				32.2.7½	Knight service	Inherited from his mother, half on her death, other half on death of Fitzwilliam. 1542.
Manor of Bayham								/	9.3.4			18.4.10		
Monastery of Calce								Site and buildings				10.2.9		
Manor of Calce									3.16.8			9.8.0		
Manor of Selham									2.4			5.18.0		
Manor of Bourne												39.17.2	Knight service	Formerly of the earl of Northumberland: granted to Browne by the king in exchange for lands in the North: 1537
Manor of Pygden												62.16.10		
Manor of Perching												64.4.0		
Manor of Poynings												20.18.1½		
Manor of Preston Poynings												3.0.0		
Manor of Ashcombe												3.11.8		
Manor of Walborne												6.13.4		
Manor of Chintling Poynings												1.13.4		
Colevilles in Twineham														
Manor of Chintling												37.13.0	Knight service	Formerly of Michelham priory: then Thomas Cromwell: granted 1541
Battle Abbey								Site and buildings				136.2.10	Knight service	Formerly Battle abbey: granted 1538
Great and little parks		400												
In Battle, Marley and Hooe	100	310	210					Watermill						
Manor of Battle	200	200	200	1100	300	40			20.0.0	Rectory		26.19.3		Formerly of Battle abbey: granted 1539
Manor of Barnehorne								Windmill						
Manor of Sedlescombe												45.6.0	Knight service	Formerly of St. John of Jerusalem: granted 1541
Meadow of Horksted in Twineham														
Manor of Bredle						40			2 Rectories	43.4.0			Knight service	Formerly of Lyon nunnery: granted 1544
Neat Arundel				80						13.4				Formerly of Lyon nunnery: granted 1547
Priory of Shulvode								Site and buildings				25.9.3		Formerly Shulvode priory: granted to Fitzwilliam: reverted to crown: granted to Browne 1545.
Demerne lands in Linchmere						about 400								
Deanery and college of Hastings	100							Site and buildings			5 Rectories		Knight service	Formerly deanery and college of Hastings: granted 1547.
Rectends of Peasmarsh, Hollington, Hooe, Ninfield and Wartling.										29.3.10		49.4.10		
										5 acres				
										26 hens				
Manor of Lodswoth												28.13.4	Knight service	Granted 1547
Manor of Verdeley								Park of Verdeley and other lands				8.8.9½		
Adresham and Taddeham												6.10.4		
Manor of Midhurst (St. John's)											17.11	Chapel 3.0.0		

Those profits were in some cases considerable. Lord chancellor Audley drew an annual salary of £542,15s.0d. for himself and the twelve masters in chancery, £200 for attendance in the Star Chamber and £ 64 in lieu of twelve tuns of wine - over £800 in all. He grumbled to Cromwell that it was not enough, but Audley was a persistent money grubber. The chancellor's liabilities to the masters in chancery are obscure. They had no salary but shared in fees and fines. The chancellor had been obliged to feed them and their clerks in term time, but according to John Croke, a chancery man himself, this charge was "out of use" by 1554.<sup>(1)</sup>

Audley's share of fees and fines for chancery business must have made a considerable addition to his income, and he insisted on having his dues. In 1533 when Cromwell as secretary was willing to remit signet fees on a licence for Lord Lisle which was not for his own profit, Audley would not waive the 2s.6d. for the great seal and 6s.8d. for the writing and enrolling, which Lisle's agent "thought much."<sup>(2)</sup> In 1539 Audley received from the augmentations £500 in satisfaction of all fees due to his office (did this include all the chancery staff involved ?) for providing capacities for former religious persons and friars who wished to become laymen.<sup>(3)</sup>

Fitzwilliam's custody of the privy seal brought him a salary of £365 a year and there were no outgoings. He probably shared the profits of the seal as well.<sup>(4)</sup> When he was admiral his "annuity" was £133.6s.8d., but

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(1) "Orders explained by Mr.Croke 1554 upon the estate of the Chauncery courte." B.M.Lansdowne 163 f.141.

Printed in A.Croke Genealogical History of the Croke Family II.Appx xxii. (2)L.P.Addenda;886. (3)L.P.XIV.ii.236

(4)G.R.Elton The Tudor Revolution in Government p.129

SURREY	Arable	Pasture	Meadow	Marsh: Acre	Wood	Houses	Mills	Other buildings	Rents l. s. d.	Spiritual Value l. s. d.	Clear Yearly Value l. s. d.		
In Sand and Woking Newark monastery	30(+)		10½		20(+)	1		Barn			4.16.0	} Knight service	} { Granted 1544 } Formerly Newark monastery Granted 1544 (small part formerly Merton monastery.)
In Sand and Woking Great Bickney (in Fetcham)	65(+)	20(+)	14(+)		6(+)	6	Watermill						
Manors of Sand and Tury	30	20										} King: in socage Knight service	} Granted 1544: formerly Newark mon. Formerly St. Mary Overey: granted 1544.
Monastery of St. Mary Overey (Southwark)	30	30	35										
Demerue								Site and buildings 20	13.4 4.13.8			} King: in socage	
Manor of Shalford Clifford	1000	2000	100	1000	400	304 houses 10 cottages			6.0.0	21.0.0			
Manor of Westhorsley	} 26(+)		29½(+)					Barn			52 16 10½ 10.13.4	} Knight service	} Formerly of the marquess of Exeter: granted 1547
Manor of Eppingham													
In Westhorsley, Easthorsley, Eppingham	50	40	30		20	9			1.0.0	7.0.0		} Bishop of Exeter: manor of Easthorsley	
Potwell park (Windsor forest)											3.10.0		
In Byfleet	20	30	10			2					2.4.4	} King: service of the red rose King: manor of Byfleet	

## KENT

Manor of Wykehambury  
Manor of Leveshott

111.8.7½  
14.7.6

} Knight service

Inherited from his mother.

## ESSEX.

Manor of Rounwell Hall  
Manor of Woodford  
Rebend of West Thurrock

37.10.0  
in Val. Ecc.  
3.17.10½  
12.6.8  
in Val. Ecc.

Knight service

Formerly of St. Paul's cathedral: granted 1547

Formerly of Hastings College: granted 1547

## CAMBRIDGE

Barnwell priory  
Demerue

Site and buildings

} Formerly Barnwell priory: granted 1547

## MIDDLESEX.

In St. Dunstan's Fleet-Street  
In St. Martin-in-the-Fields

2  
1

Formerly of St. John of Jerusalem: granted 1544  
Formerly of Westminster abbey: granted 1547

he probably drew a greater sum from the privileges which the office carried. He was entitled to the goods of pirates, felons, fugitives and suicides, which should be taken at sea, flotsam and jetsam, the holding of a maritime court and power to appoint a vice-admiral and other officers.<sup>(1)</sup> The character and habits of seaboard populations before the era of seaside holidays probably meant that the wreckage profits of flotsam and jetsam depended on the presence and vigilance of his officers. It can have been but rarely that the stuff floated more or less to his feet as it did when he was storm bound at Calais with Anne of Cleves in 1539 and packs of Spanish wool and white soap from a Hollander hulk wrecked near Boulogne floated ashore at Calais and were therefore reserved for his use.<sup>(2)</sup>

As chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster Fitzwilliam drew £144.13s.4d. a year in fees and expenses; as attorney general of the duchy Audley had £40.

It has not been possible to establish directly the fees or salary which Cheyne was paid as lord warden of the Cinque ports, which post was usually coupled with that of constable of Dover castle. In 1494 the sum was £146 a year plus emoluments. He also had a number of courts which yielded profits, and other rights of admiralty.<sup>(3)</sup>

The household offered more modest salaries than the great offices of the realm, but permanent or "ordinary" posts therein carried "bouche" which was board and lodging for the holder and in some cases his wife and feeding and accommodation for servants and horses, all on a scale in accordance with the status of the officer.<sup>(4)</sup>

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(1) P.R.O. C.66.695m2 (2) L.P.XIV.ii.707 (3) C.P.R.Hen.VII II.p.26, M.Burrows Cinque Ports p.187 et seq.

(4) The value of bouche is found in the Household Ordinances pp.162-4 and the scale for horses and servants pp.198-99. Both are taken from the Eltham Ordinances.



# THOMAS CHEYNE (DIED 1558)

## KENT

	Arable	Pasture	Meadow	Marsh: Heath	Wood	Horses	Mills	Other Buildings	Rents	Spiritual	Clear Yearly Value	
	Acres								L. s. d.		L. s. d.	
Manor of Lower Bilsington									10.8.2 15 cows 50 hens		88.0.0	Queen in chief: military service
lands in Bilsington district	180	200		200	100				18.10		112.0.0	Knight service of queen in socage
Manors of Shurland, Rowton Capel, Nycholl, Swanley, Warden, Goodneston	1000	1000		1000					12.15.1		60.0.0-in 1499	Queen in socage
(2) Manor of Patnestown	20	20									12.0.0	Knight service
(2) Manor of Patnestown	40	40			20				10.0.0	Rectory and advowson of vicarage	43.6.0	Knight service
Monastery of St. Sexburga								Site and buildings				
Manor of Ristock	20	60			40							
Manor of Minster	200	200		300			Windmill		40.6.0	Rectory	77.18.9½-in 1537	Knight service
Other lands in Sheppey and district	200	200		300								
Eastbridge Hospital, Canterbury.												
Manor of Upbury (Gillingham)											39.6.11½-in Val. Ecc.	
Abbots Court in Harty	140	100		200							18.0.11½-in Val. Ecc.	By fealty
lands in Faversham	50										10.0.0	Knight service
Chilham Rectory												
Eastchurch in Sheppey												
Monastery of Davington.								Site and buildings				
lands in eastern Kent.	267½	100					2 Watermill					
Neutonham Rectory												
Manor of Wiltresham												
Manor of Tremworth and Farnes												
Grindall Rectory												
Manors of Northcourt, Denton, Payntures, Wycheleing, Quencecourt, Elverland.	200	200					Watermill 2 barns 2 stables				119.11.9-in 1546	
Manor of Bradhurst and Mare- court.	100	100(?)			240						26.13.4	
Perrymarsh in Harty.	20			100							20.0.0	

Inherited lands. formerly in possession of his  
father, William Cheyne.

Formerly of Merton monastery: granted 1540

Formerly St. Sexburga monastery, Sheppey:  
granted 1537 and 1546

Bought in 1538 } Formerly of  
Granted in 1540 } Faversham monastery

Formerly of Syon monastery: granted 1540  
Formerly of Boxley monastery: granted 1546

Formerly Davington monastery: granted 1546

Formerly All Saints Maidstone: granted 1549

Formerly St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster:  
granted 1549

Highest paid in the household proper, paid even more than his superior, the lord steward, was the treasurer, whose diets totalled £123.14s.8d. a year,<sup>(1)</sup> whose bouche was valued at £35.12s.0½d. and who had accomodation for twelve horses and five servants. Among the other household offices occupied by our men, gentlemen of the privy chamber had £50 a year, or 50 marks for the two most junior,<sup>(2)</sup> bouche worth £20.13s.6d. and accommodation for six horses and two servants. The esquires of the body had 50 marks, bouche worth £10.16s.9d. and were allowed five servants and two horses. Grooms of the chamber had £20, bouche of £4.12s.1¾d. two horses and one servant. The yeoman of the robes had £5.17s.4d. and the cupbearer 50 marks and bouche of £10.16s.9d. The king's spears in the early years of Henry VIII's reign had £60,16s.8d. and were probably out of pocket on their expenses.<sup>(3)</sup> As captain of the gentlemen pensioners Browne had 100 marks a year on his appointment in 1540 and double that amount by 1545.<sup>(4)</sup> For the mastership of the horse he had £40 on appointment and £66.13s.4d. by the end of Henry VIII's reign.<sup>(5)</sup> As standard bearer he had £100 a year, sharing the office with Sir Edward Guldeford from 1527 to 1534 and with his own eldest son from 1546 until his death.<sup>(6)</sup>

Among the local offices in the crown's gift were some which carried comparatively large rewards. As warden and chief justice in eyre of royal forests north of Trent Browne's fee was £100 a year. It would seem likely that Fitzwilliam had a similar sum for his corresponding post in the south. As constable and steward of the duchy of Lancaster honour of Pontefract, for a brief period, he

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' (1) L.P.XVI;394. (2) Household Ordinances p.168.  
 (3) S.Pegge Curialia (4) Household Ordinances p.212,  
L.P.XX.ii.appx.2. (5) L.P.XIV.i.651(32)  
C.P.R.Edw.VI II.p.368. (6) L.P.IV;4896.

	Arable	Pasture	Meadow	Marsh: Heath	Wood	Houses	Mills	Other Buildings	Rents l. s. d.	Spiritual	Clear Yearly value l. s. d.		
	Acres												
Stephen's Chantry: Ashe-vent-Sandwich	20	30		8		1		1 Barn 1 Stable			20.0.0	} Knight service Queen in socage	} Granted 1549
Holy Trinity Chantry: Reculver	40	40		10	8	1					14.0.0		
Holy Cross Chantry: Hooth	60	40		40		1					9.10.0		
Busher's Chantry: Sittingbourne	40	40											
Dunonley in Sheppey	100	100		100		1					44.0.0	Knight service	Formerly of St. Katharine's - next - the - Tower: then Thomas Seymour: granted 1550
Pelto-court in Rapchild	20	40		10		1					16.0.0	Knight service	Formerly of Dartford priory: granted 1553
Manor of Sturry					100							} Knight service	} Formerly of St. Augustine's monastery: Canterbury. granted 1553
Abbot's house in Sturry													
Manor of Langport (Canterbury)									11.0.0		64.0.0		
Manor of Cheyne-court												} Knight service	} Formerly of the archbishop of Canterbury: granted 1553
Lands in Romney Marsh	400	200		200							120.10.0		
Manor of Catehill	60	80		20		1					8.0.0	Knight service	Granted 1556
(1/2) Manor of Norwood	?	?		30								} Queen in chief: military service	} Bought early in the reign of Henry VIII Bought in 1549
(1/2) Manor of Norwood	300	40	150	70					4.0.0				
In Eastchurch	100	100				1						Socage	
Other land in North Sheppey	1100	1940		2100		10		10 Barns 10 Stables			At least 350.0.0	Socage: Queen or Canterbury Cathedral.	
In Harty	200	200		200		2		2 Barns				Mostly socage	
Other land in Faversham - Sittingbourne district	78	46			36		Mill					} Queen in chief: military service	} [The value of 1/100 includes Davington land]
Manor of Jeffreys (Melash)											100.0.0		
In Romney marsh	100			100								Socage	
Manor of Chilham	100	100		100					36.9.0		130.0.0	Knight service	Granted 1540

## SUSSEX

Lands in Hastings and Tillington

## MIDDLESEX

Lands in central and north Middlesex.  
In the Blackfriars.

## BERKSHIRE

(1/2) Manor of Aston Tirrold.

## BEDFORDSHIRE

(1/2) Manor of Hartington

66.0.0 Nearly all sub-tenure - Held in right of Frideswide (Frowyk) his  
first wife.

12.6.4 1/2

Formerly of Westbury College, Glos. and then Sir  
Ralph Sadler: bought 1555

Formerly Sir Thomas Palmer: granted 1554.

had £100 and the right to appoint his under officers. In 1528 John Wallop and Richard Page, gentlemen of the privy chamber, were appointed surveyors and receivers of the subsidy of cloths called "kerseys" in the ports of London and Southampton with an annuity of £100 between them. Twenty months later the grant was surrendered and reissued to Fitzwilliam and Page.

It seems that some offices, at any rate those in the Church's gift, were treated as private property. In 1537 Audley wrote to the abbot of St. Alban's informing him that the earl of Wiltshire had surrendered to him the office of high steward of the monastery. Audley was rather out of luck for within a fortnight Cromwell wrote to Wiltshire about the stewardship. The earl replied that he no longer had the patent and Cromwell then proceeded to deal with Audley. We have only Audley's reply to the minister in which he maintained that Cromwell had known and approved of the business—"encouraged him to believe that the king would be content .." If, he complained, he might not take a free gift from a friend, he was worse off than a friar observant.<sup>(1)</sup>

Among emoluments beyond the normal salary which some offices carried we have already noted the household entitlement of forage and stabling for horses, beds for servants, lodging for the officer and sometimes for his wife, and bouche. Bouche consisted of wood, coals, candles, bread, ale, wine and dishes of meat according to rank.<sup>(2)</sup> The henxmen had regular grants of clothing.<sup>(3)</sup> Others had grants for special occasions; Fitzwilliam as a cup bearer had scarlet and red cloth for the coronation of Henry VIII,<sup>(4)</sup> Cheyne had livery for both funeral

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(1) L.P.VI;1075; this letter is misplaced under 1536 in L.F.;, XII.ii.722,738,747, (2) Household Ordinances p.162. (3) L.P.I.232,239,487,768,897. (4) L.P.I;82(p.38)

HERTFORDSHIRE

ESSEX

SUFFOLK

College of Mettingham		Site and buildings } 160.00 King in chief } Formerly college of Mettingham: granted 1542
Manor of Mettingham		
Manor of Ilkeshall		
Manor of Skepmeadow		
Manor of Bromefeld		
Manor of Mellis		
Manor of Sibton	_____ 900 _____	} Formerly of Sibton monastery: later of duke of Norfolk: granted 1547
Manor of Wenston		
In Mettingham and Ilkeshall	_____ 38 _____	Sub-tenure

of Henry VII in 1509 and that of Edward VI in 1553.<sup>(1)</sup>

In the Christmas festivities of 1512 he had a grant of hose and shoes.<sup>(2)</sup> When the king visited Lincoln in 1541 Browne, the master of the horse, had as his "fee" the carpet and stools from the west end of the cathedral where the king and queen had knelt to be censed by the bishop before entering.<sup>(3)</sup> When Henry died, Browne was entitled to the stable furniture and the seven hearse horses, the latter being replaced by a payment of £60.<sup>(4)</sup> Fees and perquisites were probably the most important part of the income of some offices, such as the chancery, the admiralty and the post of customer and collector of tunnage and poundage in the port of London, which Denny shared. The last had the usual emoluments, control over the appointment of staff and a variety of liberties which must have produced fees.<sup>(5)</sup> It was, moreover, accountable in the exchequer and offices which were so accountable could take long and probably profitable time in paying over what they had collected.<sup>(6)</sup> Keeperships of parks often carried with them herbage and pannage - the right to graze cattle and feed swine, and this could be important. Denny had £10 a year for the keepership of Bedwell park and in addition had herbage and pannage valued at £3.6s.8d., free warren of coneyes valued at £3.6s.8d. and two pastures. As captain of Guisnes Fitzwilliam and later Wallop enjoyed certain profitable rights, farming some of the tolls at Guisnes and Ballingham, fowling and fishing in some of the waters, the

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(1) L.P.I; 20(p.14), Archaeologia XII p.1796. (2) L.P.II. p.1500. (3) L.P.XVI; 1088. (4) A.P.C.II. pp.129, 479.  
 (5) L.P.XVI; 678(27), XIX.i.1035(10); the grant is set out in detail in C.P.R.Edw.VI I. pp19, 265. (6) G.R.Elton Tudor Revolution in Government pp.163-4.

more Pasture Meadows Marsh: Wood Houses Mills Other Buildings Rents Spiritual Clear  
 Acres L. s. d. L. s. d.

# NORFOLK

Manor of Perryhall  
 Manor of Howe  
 Manor of Holmhall  
 Manor of Lyng.

23.1.6  
 19.10.82  
 4.10.10  
 21.5.7

King in chief:  
 military service

Formerly of Mettingham college:  
 granted 1542

# MIDDLESEX

In the palace of Westminster

Arundel  
 Hall  
 Pargatory  
 5 others

12.13.6 - annuity granted in lieu 1847

Granted to Denmy 1536 as keeper of the  
 palace of Westminster.

right to compel the supply of provisions, one in every hundred sheep in recompense for hunting wolves, one hen from each household that kept them as payment for hunting foxes, the right of cartage, and wood for fuel. The captain also appears to have enjoyed the privilege of bringing twenty soldiers of the garrison to wait on him when he came to England.<sup>(1)</sup>

A certain class of appointment was not permanent but occurred with varying frequency. In this class some offices, for example the speakership, embassies, special military commands, carried emoluments, while others, such as service on various commissions of justice, audit, inspection and enquiry, did not, unless they were in some distant part of the realm. The commons' speaker was virtually a royal nominee and received a "reward" from the crown. It has been stated that he received £100 fee and £100 expenses.<sup>(2)</sup> Audley in 1531 was paid £200 but it is not clear in respect of what period this payment was made.<sup>(3)</sup> He was speaker in the sessions November-December 1529, January-March 1531, January-March and April-May 1532. In a letter placed by Letters and Papers in late 1532 or early 1533 he stated that £100 was due to him for the parliament, so we know that he was entitled at least to £300 for the three years he was speaker.<sup>(4)</sup>

The Tudor ambassador and his staff were paid diets - daily allowances graded according to rank. Short special embassies seem to have carried a higher rate than resident one, quite reasonably so since the expenses must have been greater in proportion to the length of time served. When they were among the gentlemen who accompanied Mary Tudor to her marriage in France in 1514, Wallop

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(1) Archaeologia LIII.ii.p.378 et seq., L.P.XIV.11.499.

(2) D.M.Gladish The Tudor Privy Council p.162 n.2- 115.

(3) Elton Tudor Revolution in Government p.162 n.2

(4) L.P.VI;2.



## SUSSEX

	Arable	Pasture	Meadow	Marsh: Heath	Wood	Houses	Mills	Other Buildings	Rents l. s. d.	Spiritual Value l. s. d.	Clear Yearly Value l. s. d.		
Easebourne priory In Midhurst, Easebourne, Farnham district. Manor of Northing In Chichester district	206	150	43		23		Site and buildings 10 houses 6 cottages	4 barns	4.0.0	2 Rectories 3 Chapels	53.10.0	King in chief: military service	Formerly Easebourne priory: granted 1537
Shulbrede priory In Linchmere district Lavant rectory Linchmere Chapel	about 400						Site and buildings			25.9.3 - in 1549 Rectory and advowson Vicarage Chapel	14.17.6 - l. Val. 2.16.8 } Ecc.	Knight service	Formerly Shulbrede priory: granted 1537
Dunford abbey Manor of Hasting Manor of Rogate Rectories of Rampton, Wallington and Barneham							Site and buildings			about 50.0.0 - in Val. Rectory and advowson Vicarage 3 Rectories	50.0.0 - in Val. 32.0.0 - in Val. Ecc. } Ecc.	King in chief: military service King in chief: military service	Formerly Dunford abbey: granted 1537 Formerly of Boxgrove monastery: granted 1537
Manor of Midhurst (Lowdowny)	1000	1000	200	800	1000	40	3 Watermills	Domestic			46.13.4	Sub-tenure	Bought 1529
Manor of Midhurst (St. Voluns)									17.11	Chapel	3.0.0	Knight service	Formerly of St. John of Jerusalem
Manor of Rustington	200	40	20		20	10			2.0.0		11.18.0	Sub-tenure	1/2 manor bought in 1528
Manor of Heyshott	1000	500	200	2000	400	30	Watermill		10.0.0		35.0.0	King: honor of Petworth: one pair of gilt spurs.	Formerly of earl of Northumberland: granted 1538
Bayham monastery							Site and buildings				32.2.7 1/2		Formerly Bayham monastery: dissolved by Wolsey
Manor of Bayham							Mill		9.3.4				Inherited from his mother: shared
Pynham (Calcester) monastery							Site and buildings				18.4.0		Formerly Calcester monastery: dissolved by Wolsey
Manor of Calcester									10.2.9				with Anthony Broune
Manor of Selham									3.16.8		9.8.0		
Manor of Boursne									2.4		5.18.0		

## SURREY

Waverley abbey							Site and buildings						
Manor of Waverley	200	200	60	400	20		Watermills		2.0.0	Rectory			
Manor of Wanborough	1000	300	40		200	42			12.0.0	Rectory	48.0.11	King in chief: military service	Formerly Waverley abbey: granted 1536
Manor of Marwyke and Monkenholte						13			4.0.11				
Oxford Grange	200	100	60	200	40	1							
Tongham Farm (Farnham)	40	40	10		10								
In Compton Westbury											5.0.0 - in Val. Ecc.	King in chief: military service	Formerly of Dunford abbey: granted 1537
Lynde Place (Chertsey)	120	50	16	40	50	2			5.4		6.13.4	King: manor of Chertsey	Bought
Manor of Downe											3.6.8	King: manor of Stenwell	
In Godalming, Guildford, Worplesdon	40	30	8		20	1			1.0		3.0.0	King: manor of Worplesdon	
Manors of Shalford, Bradstone and Alfold.	100	60	20	40	20				10.15.0		22.0.0	Knight service	

and Cheyne were advanced twenty days pay, Wallop at the rate of 20s. for a knight and Cheyne at 13s4d for an esquire.<sup>(1)</sup> In 1518 Cheyne, Wallop and Browne were among those who had £40 each "going into Flanders", for how long is not stated.<sup>(2)</sup> In the same year Fitzwilliam was a member of the earl of Worcester's embassy to France. He was paid £66.13s.4d. for fifty days diets, i.e. two marks or £1.6s.8d. a day, while Worcester was paid £3.6s.8d. and his second in command the bishop of Ely got £2.13s.4d.<sup>(3)</sup> These rates still obtained in 1529, when Fitzwilliam was abroad on embassy with the duke of Suffolk and was paid £133.6s.8d. for a period probably of fifty days<sup>(4)</sup> and also in 1546 when Cheyne was sent to France and was paid £3.6s.8d. a day.<sup>(5)</sup> The resident ambassador got less, although there were variations in the rates paid. In 1521 Fitzwilliam, resident in France, had £1 a day.<sup>(6)</sup> In 1532 Wallop, also in France, had £1.6s8d. and in 1540 £2.0s.0d.<sup>(7)</sup> The ambassador had to find money for posts and any special expenses, this being refunded later. He was lodged and fed by the court to which he was accredited, sometimes being treated as a member of its household. It was well that an ambassador knew that he had this minimum, for his pay and allowances were frequently in arrears. In 1521 Fitzwilliam's diets were sixty days in arrear and he had to borrow money for his posts. His experiences were anything but unique.<sup>(8)</sup>

An ambassador might be provided with some necessary equipment by his government. In 1533 the king's goldsmith received from the household a vessel struck with

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(1) L.P.I;3348, J.Leland Collectanea I.ii.p.704. (2) L.P.II. p.1480. (3) L.P.II;p.1479. (4) L.P.V;p.311. (5) L.P.XXI.ii. 775. (6) L.P.III.1544. (7) L.P.V;1600, XVI;380. (8) L.P. III;1602.

	Arable	Pasture	Meadow	Marsh: Heath	Wood	Houses	Mills	Other Buildings	Rents L. s. d.	Spiritual Value L. s. d.	Clear Yearly Value L. s. d.		
HAMPSHIRE													
Manor of Netcham	300	200	100	300	100	30			29.0.0	99.12.8		King in chief: military service	Formerly Waverley abbey: granted 1536 [Dokenfield now in Surrey]
Manor of Sawretor	300	300	20	200	40	10			4.0.0				
Manor of Boyatt	200	100	40	200	100	20			10.0.0				
Manor of Dokenfeld	50	50	20		100	16			15.19.4				
In Drummore	100	200		100	100								
Nutfield Farm in Ashe	300	300	20		40								
Manor of Eastney	100	100	20		20	12				13.6.8	}	Sub-tenure	Inherited from his mother.
Manor of Eversley	200	200	100		30	12			5.0.0	16.0.0			
Manor of Charlton										75.0.0		Knight service	Formerly of Margaret Pole: granted 1542 Formerly of Margaret Pole: granted 1539
Manor of Warblington													
Manor of Binston										23.6.8 - in Val. Ecd.	}	King in chief	Formerly of Dunford abbey: granted 1537
Rents in Hampshire										6.10.8 - in Val. Ecd.			
Manor of Badhampton.										38.3.6½ in 1547			Formerly of duke of Richmond: granted 1537
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE													
Manor of Oveston												}	Formerly of duke of Richmond: granted 1537
Manor of Torpell													
Manor of Thorpe													
Manor of Acheweke													
MIDDLESEX													
Bath Place							19			36.13.4			Formerly of bishop of Bath: granted 1539
KENT													
Manor of Levesnoth										4.7.6	}	Knight service	Formerly of Bayham monastery: inherited Formerly of Dunford abbey: granted 1537.
lands in Chilston										4.0.0 - in Val. Ecd.			
GLOUCESTERSHIRE													
Manor of South Cerney										20.9.7 - in Val. Ecd.			Formerly of Hanthorpe monastery: granted 1539.

the arms of Sir Francis Brian, with orders to take them out and replace them with those of Wallop, then in France.

(1) When Francis I took a fancy to any of Henry VIII's courtier diplomats he could be very affable. Browne, a junior member of an embassy in France, was told on taking leave that he and other young gentlemen were appointed gentlemen of Francis' household with a year's wages in advance and place and wages to be kept for them whenever they should return.<sup>(2)</sup> If relations were good, ambassadors might expect to receive <sup>gifts</sup> ~~goods~~ in money and in kind. On Wallop's central European mission in 1526-7, Ferdinand king of the Romans, sent to him at one time a cart-load of wine, a hart, an ox, fifty capons and a cart-load of eels!<sup>(3)</sup> He also gave him two great gilt cups, and the king of Poland gave him one also.<sup>(4)</sup>

Diets on a somewhat similar scale were paid to royal officers on commission in distant parts. When sent as head of a commission to inspect and reform matters at Calais in 1535, Fitzwilliam wrote to Cromwell that his diets had been fixed at £1.13s.4d., whereas since he had been made knight of the Garter they had never before been less than £2.13s.4d., including his last visit to Calais, and he had never saved a groat "as my colleagues and the town council must be with me." He asked for the figure to be amended if it was an error but nothing to be said if it was what the king really intended.<sup>(5)</sup>

Browne, sent to Boulogne with Gardiner in 1546 to confer with the commander there, was paid £3.6s.8d. a day.<sup>(6)</sup>

When he went to Darlington in 1543 to discuss a possible attack on Scotland, he received £80 for about a month,

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(1) L.P. VI;32. (2) L.P. III.273. (3) L.P. IV;2960. (4) C.R. O. P.C.C. 24 Bucke. (5) L.P. VIII;50. (6) L.P. XXI.1.1057, ii.775.

Arable	Pasture	Meadow	Marsh:	Heath	Wood	Houses	Mills	Other Buildings	Rents	Spiritual	Clear Lease Value
			Acres								
										L. s. d.	L. s. d.

## WILTSHIRE

Waverley Lands  
Dursford Lands

1. 12. 0 - i Val. Eccl. } King in chief:  
9. 0. 4 - i Val. Eccl. } military service

Formerly of Waverley abbey: granted 1536  
Formerly of Dursford abbey: granted 1537

## BERKSHIRE

Manor of Crokehams  
Manor of Shawe  
in Shalbourne

27. 5. 10 - Rent  
5. 6. 8 - i Val. Eccl. } King in chief.  
3. 0. 0 - i Val. Eccl. } military service

Formerly of Margaret Pole: granted 1542  
Formerly of Waverley abbey: granted 1536  
Formerly of Dursford abbey: granted 1537

Manor of Bedon

Granted 1519

## NORFOLK

Manor of Roughton

Granted 1519

## SOMERSET

Manor of Layngworth  
Manor of Queen's Cammell

Granted 1519  
Granted 1537

## DEVON

Manor of Torrington  
Manor of Bovey Tracey  
Manor of Fremington  
Hundred of Fremington

} Granted 1537

## YORKSHIRE

Half his father's Lands  
Manor of Hooton Pagnell

50. 10. 0  
26. 13. 4

Inherited from Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam  
Granted 1519.

probably £2.13s.4d. a day.<sup>(1)</sup>

Appointed to command the vanguard in Norfolk's attack on Scotland in 1542, Fitzwilliam was allowed diet of £3.6s.8d. and Browne as cavalry commander had £2.0s.0d.<sup>(2)</sup> As marshal of the rearward in Suffolk 1523 expedition to the Seine, Wallop got 6s.8d. a day and Cheyne, as a captain, 4s.<sup>(3)</sup>

It is clear that the profits of office could form an important part of a courtier's income in this period. But there were yet other sources of income which he could tap, opportunities which offered themselves just because he was a courtier and office holder. The gift and the bribe, in cash or kind, are very often hard to distinguish the one from the other. Gifts exchanged between friends and equals we may disregard for the moment, but the "greasing of palms" was a feature of all business and official activity. Audley seems to have had most opportunities of this sort, but in this as in all things he sang treble to Cromwell's bass. Agents of Lord Lisle promised the chancellor hogsheads of wine for official favours, or wrote to their master, "I gave the lord chancellor the £40 as you desired. He said he would do the best for you that he could."<sup>(4)</sup> One of Cromwell's correspondents wrote, "Stay my lord chancellor from making any J.P.'s within the three shires of north Wales, for I know Dr. Glyn and Edward Gruff will give him large sums to be made J.P.s."<sup>(5)</sup> Marillac, the French ambassador, declared that Audley had a reputation as a seller of justice.<sup>(6)</sup> Many other letters in which his help or favour was sought were probably supported with bribes.

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(1) L.P. XVIII.ii.382. (2) L.P. XVII;708. (3) L.P. III;3288.  
(4) L.P. VII;543, XI;1397. (5) L.P. XI;525 (6) L.P. XV;804.

# JOHN WALLOP (DIED 1551)

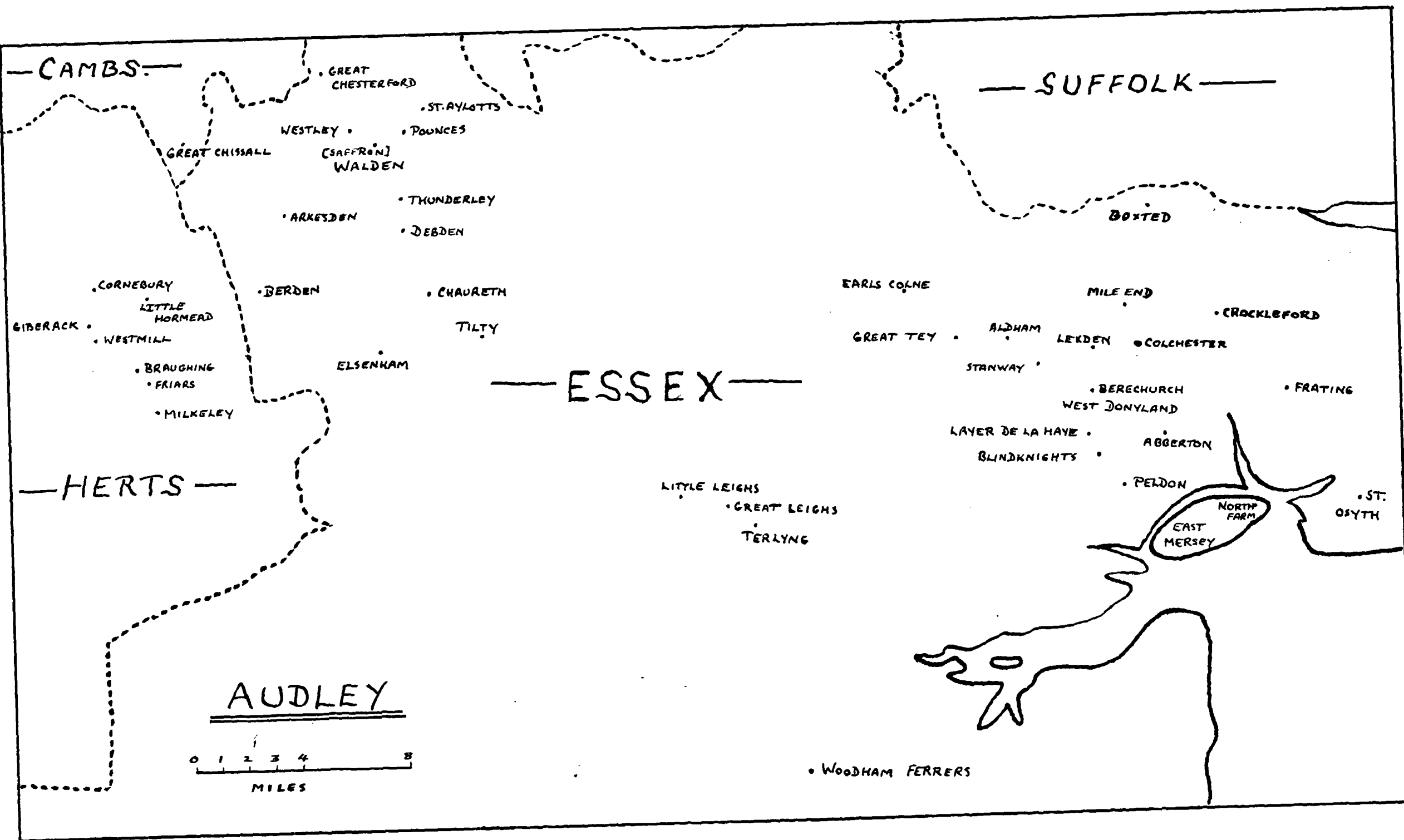
	Arable	Pasture	Meadow	Marsh Heath	Wood	Houses	Mills	Other Buildings	Rents	Spiritual	Clear Yearly Value		
			Acre						L. s. d.		L. s. d.		
HAMPSHIRE													
Manor of Over Wallop	300	40	20	300	10	8 houses 2 cottages					12.6.4	The King: as of the hundred of Basingstoke	Inherited
Manor of Appleshaw and Reddenham	100	40	10	200	20	6 houses 2 cottages					6.0.0		
In Basingstoke	200	10		100		1					3.18.0		
In Wield	100	40	10		20	1					6.12.4		
In Boltisham	100	40	5		10	1					4.0.0		
In Loberton	100	40	16		10	1					6.13.4		
In Cosham	80	10	10			1					2.0.0		
Manor of Farley Mortimer	300	100	20		40	1 house 3 cottages			10.0		69.16.9		
Manor of Cliddesden	300	60	10	200	60	12 houses 4 cottages			1.0.0		16.16.2		
Farm of Charte; Rowmer parish											12.0.0	Knight service	Formerly of Quarre monastery: granted 1538
SUSSEX													
In West Lavant	100	40	10		6	1					5.6.8	King: hundred of Basingstoke	Inherited.
WILTSHIRE													
Manor of Allington	300	40	20	400		12 houses 4 cottages					10.12.4	King: hundred of Basingstoke	Inherited.
SOMERSET													
Manor of Worle	200	300	80		10	30 houses 10 cottages					42.15.8	Knight service.	Formerly of Worspring priory: granted 1538
Manor of Bury and Barliche	400	200	60	100	40	40 houses 10 cottages					75.0.0		Formerly of Barlyach priory: granted 1538
DEVON													
Manor of Morebath.	200	200	60	400	10	30 houses 10 cottages					24.5.0	Knight service	Formerly of Barlyach priory: granted 1538

Audley was as ready to offer as to receive bribes and Cromwell's correspondence contains frequent offers from the chancellor on his own or his clients' behalf. There was £10 and two tuns of wine for a royal lease to the town of Colchester,<sup>(1)</sup> £100 and £10 for two tuns of wine from Audley's kinsman Brewood for the deanery of Exeter, - which he did not get,<sup>(2)</sup> £10 for red wine for the attorneyship of the augmentations and the solicitorship,<sup>(3)</sup> £80 to the bishop of Hereford and £20 to Cromwell for Audley's steward, William More, suffragan of Colchester, to have the archdeaconry of Leicester.<sup>(4)</sup> Audley apart, the only direct evidence of bribery in connection with our six men is a letter in which Denny was offered £100 if he will help secure an appointment.<sup>(5)</sup>

Pensions and annuities, unattached to any particular office, paid by the crown, the church and foreign princes were another source of money for the Tudor notable. Thomas Cheyne may have had a pension from Henry VII.<sup>(6)</sup> He certainly was granted one of £20 a year by Henry VIII in 1509, "during pleasure", altered to a life grant in 1516.<sup>(7)</sup> Fitzwilliam received a life grant of £20 in 1509.<sup>(8)</sup> In 1512 Fitzwilliam and one John Carne surrendered each a £20 annuity in return for one of £40 in survivorship.<sup>(9)</sup> In the year of their marriage, Fitzwilliam and his bride received an annuity of £100 which in 1519 they gave up in return for a grant of lands.<sup>(10)</sup> The grant of his earldom in 1537 included £20 annually "in support of the title"<sup>(11)</sup> and in 1538 he was given £200 for life.<sup>(12)</sup> Browne received an annuity of 50 marks in 1522<sup>(13)</sup> and Wallop one for a similar amount in 1528.<sup>(14)</sup> Audley had

(1) L.P.VIII;262. (2) L.P.XII.i.764,835. (3) L.P.XII.ii.1160  
(4) L.P.XIV.ii.36. (5) L.P.XVIII.ii.Appx.1. (6) L.P.II;1363  
(v). (7) L.P.I.158(85),II;2736. (8) L.P.I.54(67).  
(9) L.P.I;1221(22). (10) L.P.II;458,III;209. (11) L.P.XII.ii  
1008(22). (12) L.P.XIII.i.646(11). (13) L.P.III.2016(7).  
(14) L.P.IV;3869(29).





£20 annually from the duchy of Lancaster from 1526 until his death,<sup>(1)</sup> and the handsome pension of £300 granted in 1536.<sup>(2)</sup> A rather odd little sum is the £2.2s.0d. paid to Cheyne as half an annuity in 1546.<sup>(3)</sup>

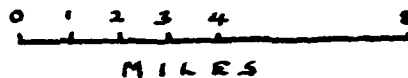
Parallel to the crown grants were church annuities. Together with lay offices a large number of these were granted by monastic houses on the eve of dissolution. These payments were continued by the augmentations office after the dissolutions. Fitzwilliam had an earlier grant from Wolsey of £40 out of the bishopric of Winchester manor of Taunton, one of the grants confirmed by act of parliament after the cardinal's fall.<sup>(4)</sup> He had a corrody of £10 from Christchurch, Twynham,<sup>(5)</sup> and one of 40s. from Pratis, Leicester,<sup>(6)</sup> annuities of £20 from Hyde, £5 from Durham, £5 from Chester, £5 from Christchurch, Southampton, £5 from St. Mary's without the walls of York, 53s.4d. from St. Swithun, Winchester, 40s. from Hales,<sup>(7)</sup> and a perpetual rent of 15s to him and his heirs from Corpus Christi, Oxford.<sup>(8)</sup> Audley had £40 from Chester, £10 from Sempringham and £5 from St. Osyth and Holywell.<sup>(9)</sup> Wallop had an annuity of £20 from the bishop of Winchester's lands.<sup>(10)</sup>

Pensions from foreign princes were not unknown among Tudor courtiers and do not seem to have been regarded as disloyal. When the French made the treaty at the More in 1525 they promised pensions to the king and a number of courtiers. In 1527 we have record of an actual payment of such pensions, which seems to have been exceptional. Fitzwilliam was paid 175 and Cheyne 150 crowns.<sup>(11)</sup> Cheyne was granted a pension of £250 by the Emperor in

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(1) R. Somerville *Duchy of Lancaster* I.p.407. (2) L.P.; 1015(28). (3) L.P.XXI.ii.775. (4) *Lords' J. I. Appx.* clxxxviii. (5) P.R.O. E.323.2A., L.P.XVI;91. (6) P.R.O. E.315.294, L.P.XVI;92. (7) P.R.O. E.315.255 f.42-3., L.P.XXI.ii.775. (8) *Valor E. II.* pp246-7. (9) L.P.XV.282. (10) *A.P.C. III.* p.161. (11) L.P.VI;3169.

BROWNE



WOKING

• PIRFORD

• RIPLEY

SEND

• EFFINGHAM

• EAST HORSELEY

NEWARK • GUILDFORD

SHALFORD

— SURREY —

— HANTS —

LINCHMERE

• SHULBRED

• VERDELEY

• LODSWORTH

• COWDRAY

MIDHURST

• SELHAM

— SUSSEX —

• TWINEHAM

• POYNINGS

PERCHING

• PANGDEAN

WESTBOURNE

CHICHESTER

• ARUNDEL

CALLETO

• PRESTON

BRIGHTON



1554.<sup>(1)</sup>

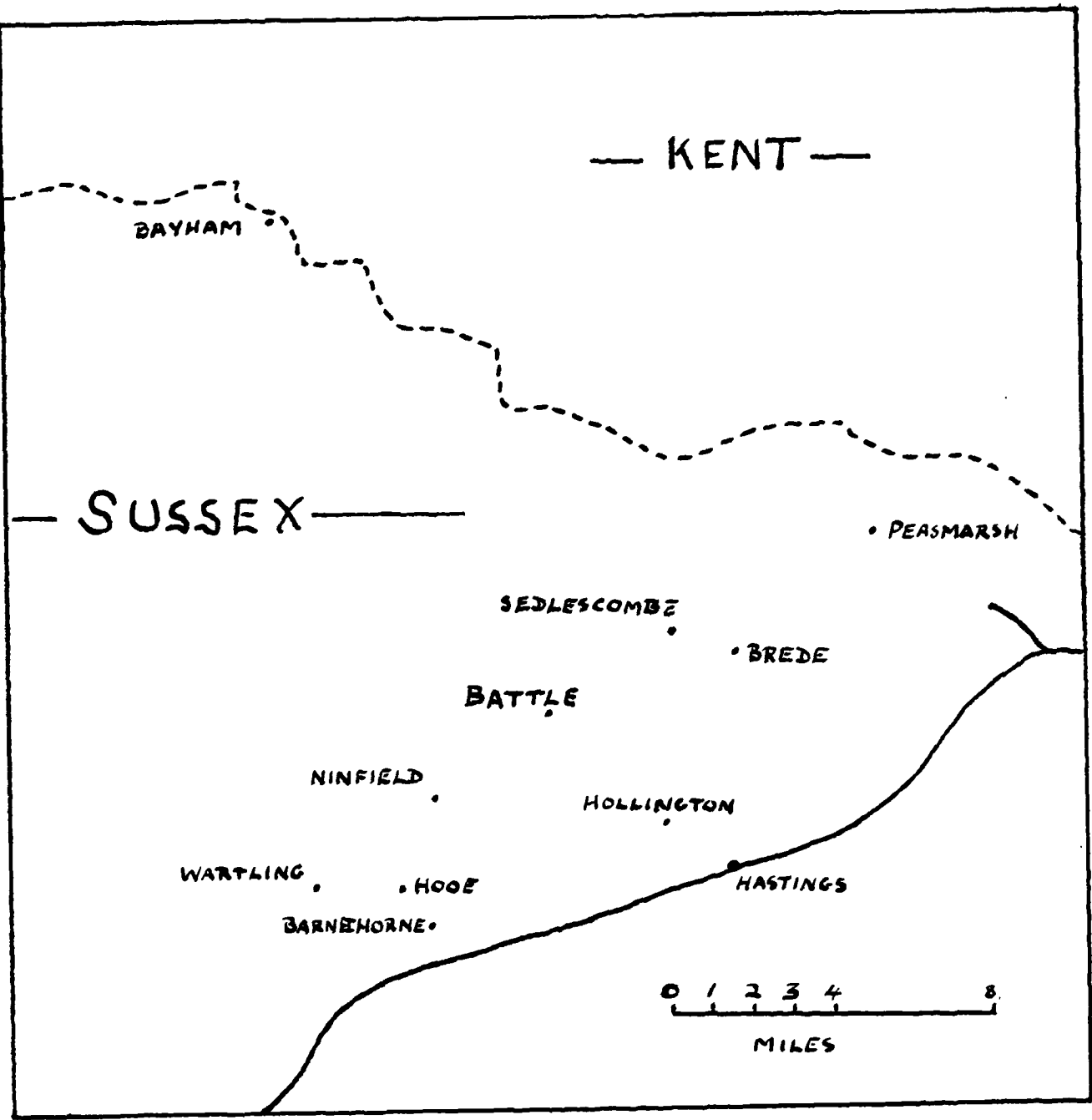
Offices, annuities, pensions, bribes, various perquisites, all these were grist to the mill. But there were other incidental sums which could be picked up in the royal service. Wallop, who had a naval command in the first war of Henry VIII's reign, was paid by the crown in 1514 £100 in recompense for a prize of alum which he had taken.<sup>(2)</sup> In 1516 he was given a reward of £100, almost certainly in connection with his going to Portugal as a volunteer for service in Morocco.<sup>(3)</sup> He was trying in 1547 to get the council to instruct the English ambassador in France to press for payment of five hundred crowns which he was owed as ransom for three French prisoners.<sup>(4)</sup> In his will he mentioned nine hundred crowns ransom money owed him for French prisoners handed over to the council.

Henry VIII's will provided legacies for a number of his servants and executors. Cheyne had £200, Browne and Denny, both executors, £300 each.<sup>(5)</sup> Cheyne was paid in 1548,<sup>(6)</sup> Denny's widow received his gift in 1550.<sup>(7)</sup> It appears that Denny received £200 under the clause in the king's will which required his executors to make good anything which he had promised. As a result, William Paget, the secretary, Denny and William Herbert, the gentlemen who had tended the king in his illness, were required to declare what they knew. A long list of grants of lands, money and honours was the consequence. Paget deposed that he had put the king in mind of Denny, who had often been suitor for him, but he had never obtained anything for Denny. The £200 was the result.<sup>(8)</sup>

Executorship, although invariably a trouble, must

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(1) C.S.P. Spanish. XII. p. 295. (2) L.P. II; p. 1465. The matter is complicated by an entry in 1517 to the effect that Wallop then owed the king £100 in respect of this alum. P.R.O. S.P. 1.5. pp. 71-2. (3) L.P. II; 1472. (4) C.S.P. Foreign 1547-53 p. 293. (5) L.P. XXI. ii. 634. (6) A.P.C. II. p. 218. (7) A.P.C. II. p. 385. (8) Burnet Reformation II. p. 41.

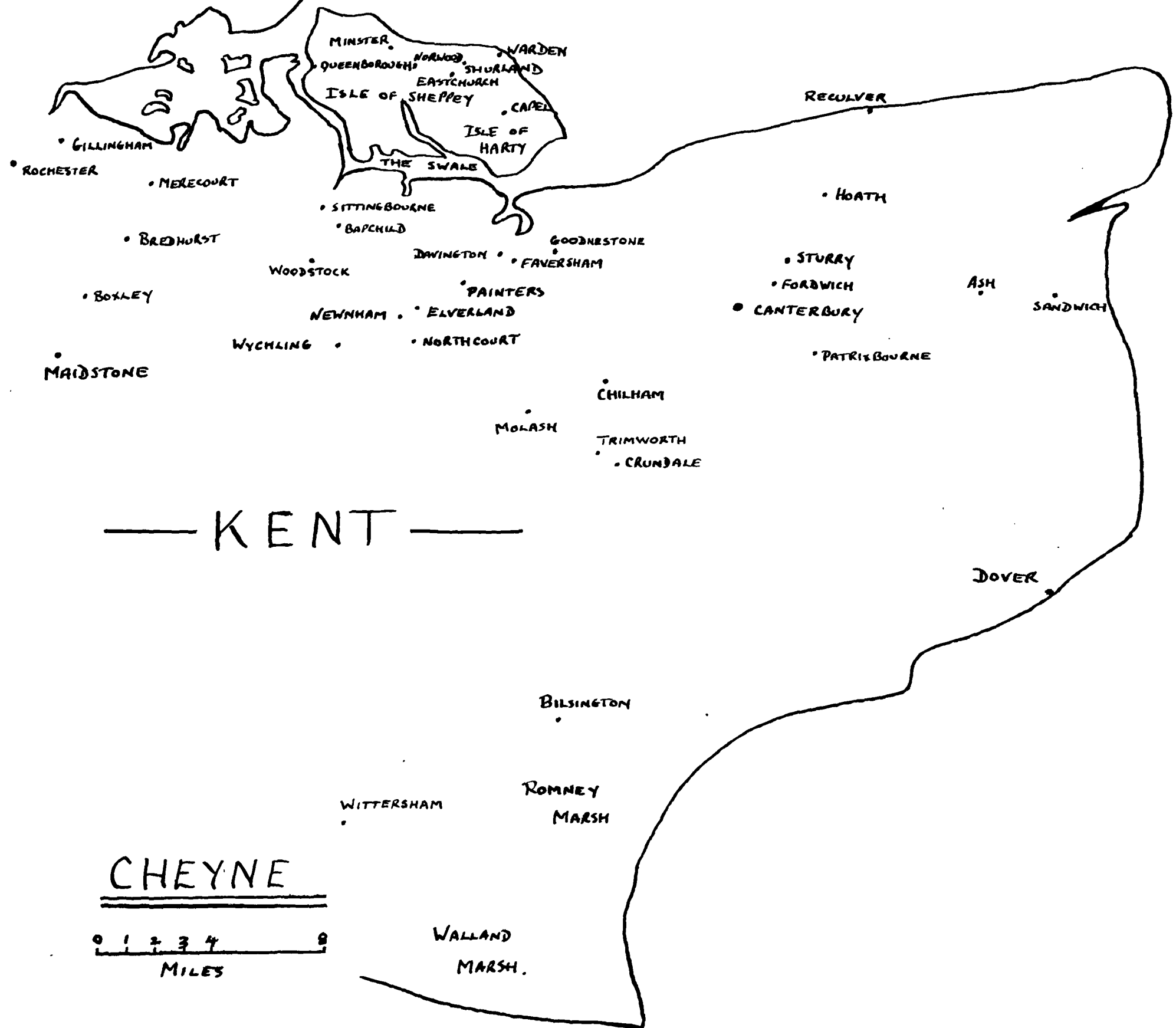


BROWNE - BATTLE DISTRICT.

also have been a worthwhile source of income. Cheyne (1) left his four executors £100, £60, £60, and £60 respectively Browne left smaller amounts to his six executors but supplemented them with jewels, plate and furs. (2) Audley left amounts of £20 or of £10 to executors and "super-visors". (3) Fitzwilliam left £40 to each of two execut<sup>(4)</sup>ors; the others, his wife and brother, were beneficiaries Wallop's wife was his sole executrix, (5) and Denny made the same arrangement, varying it in his last days to include another executor and two "overseers", to be rewarded by his executrix. (6) Fitzwilliam and Audley were executors to Sir David Owen with £100 reward each. (7) Audley acted similarly for John Josselin, Sir John Raynesford and Lord Windsor, in the last case with a £50 reward. (8) Denny was executor to Robert Dacres, his brother in law and a privy councillor. (9) An extended study of the wills of the period would certainly reveal more instances of our six men in this role. Executors sometimes retained, and possibly used, property for what seems an inordinate length of time. Fitzwilliam bequeathed £100 in plate to his nephew William Herbert. His will was proved in February 1543 but the plate was still in possession of Browne an executor, when he made his own will in 1547. Audley was Raynesford's executor in 1536 and in his own will in 1544 he noted that his co-executors still retained goods and chattels bequeathed to him while he still had a silver-gilt cross bequeathed to a church by Raynesford. We may note in passing that Fitzwilliam, first of our men to die, willed a gilt covered cup to Denny, as well as reversion of a large amount of land to Browne. Wallop left to Cheyne the cup which he had been given by the

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(1) C.R.O. P.C.C. 1 Chaynay. (2) C.R.O. P.C.C. 10 Coode.  
 (3) C.R.O. P.C.C. F.1. Alen. (4) C.R.O. P.C.C. F.16. Spert.  
 (5) C.R.O. P.C.C. 24 Bucke. (6) C.R.O. P.C.C. 37. Populwell.  
 (7) Sussex Archaeological Collections VII. p.22 et seq.  
 (8) L.P.X;597(3), XIV.ii.409. (9) C.R.O. P.C.C. 10 Pynnyng.



king of Poland.

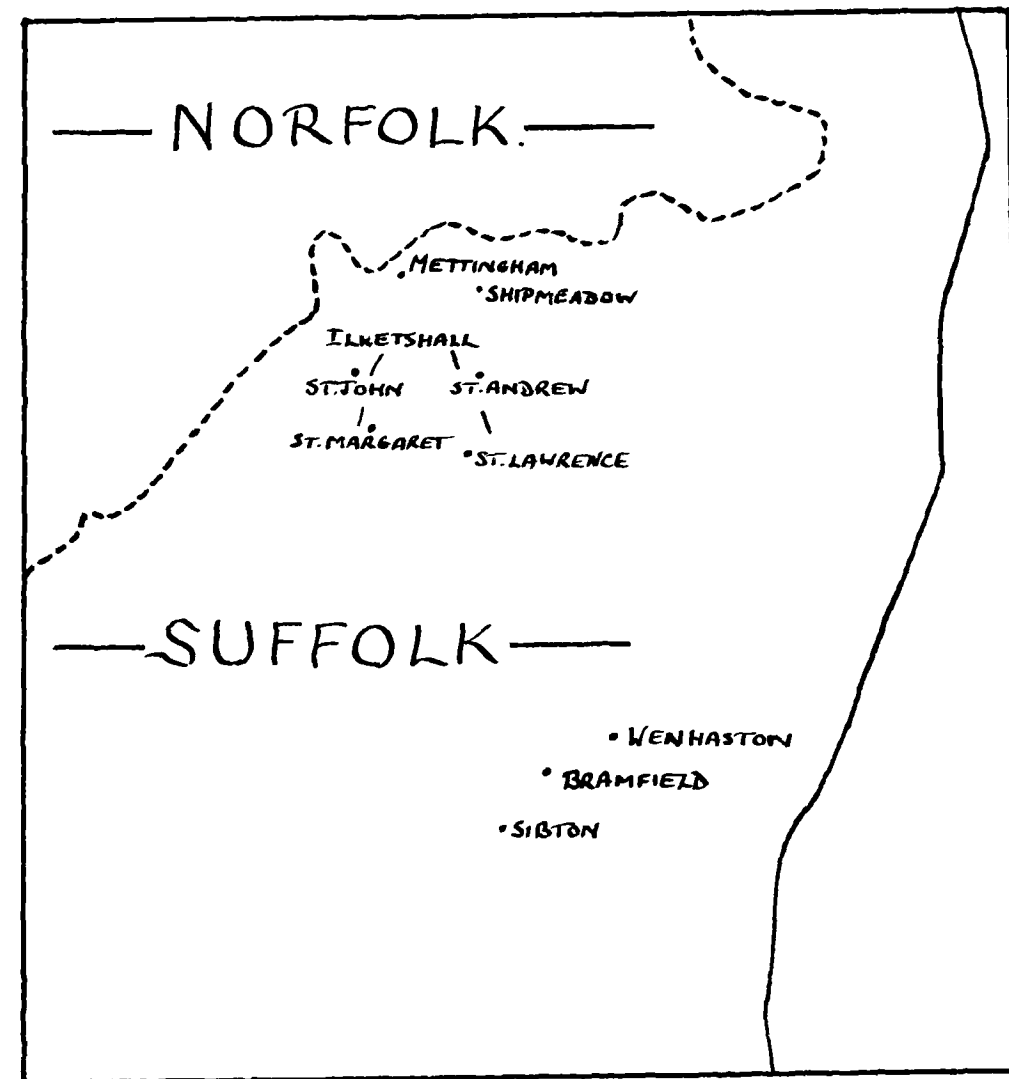
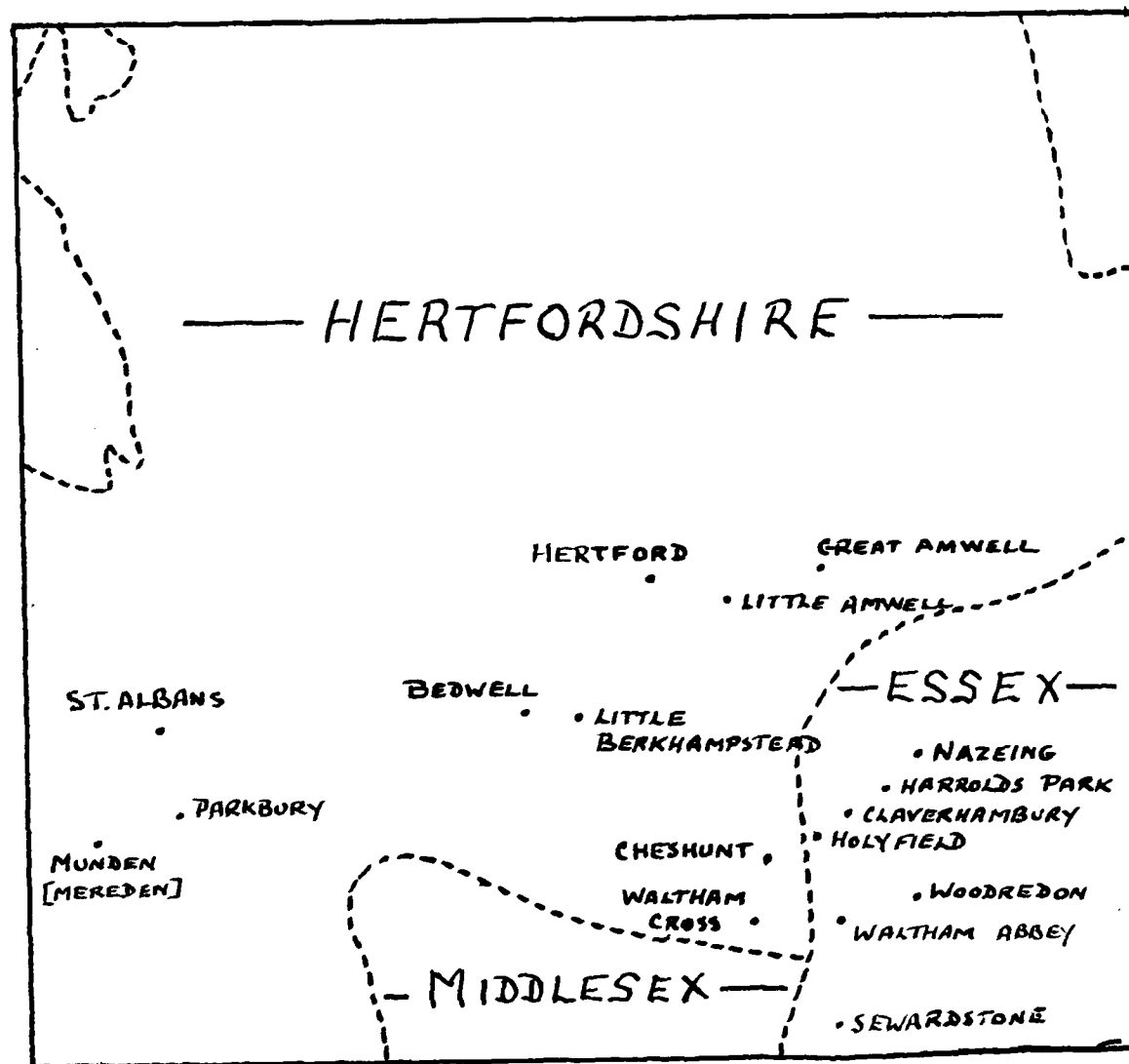
The right of presentation to church livings in crown gift was sometimes granted to courtiers. It could be used for providing for their household chaplains, could be passed to relatives or to clients, or could be sold to the highest bidder. Wallop was given a next presentation to a Calais church in 1536.<sup>(1)</sup> Browne and two others to a Somerset parish in 1544.<sup>(2)</sup> Denny to a canonry and prebend of St. Stephen's Westminster, and a free chapel and hospital near Bristol, shared in each case.<sup>(3)</sup> Audley had a presentation to a canonry and prebend at Wells<sup>(4)</sup> and Denny and others the advowson of the treasurer's office, with a church, in the same place.<sup>(5)</sup>

As lord chancellor Audley had the right of presentation to royal benefices under the value of £20, a right he had to be vigilant to preserve. Bishop Rowland Lee informed Cromwell that a Shropshire living was out of his own patronage and under the chancellor, wherein he would be loth to meddle without commission.<sup>(6)</sup> In 1535 a Calais living in Audley's gift fell vacant and was filled by the king before the chancellor knew of it, causing him to be angry with a servant who had friends in Calais and should have kept him better informed.<sup>(7)</sup> He even fell out with Cromwell over such a presentation<sup>(8)</sup> and bishops feared his revenge when they crossed him in the matter.<sup>(9)</sup>

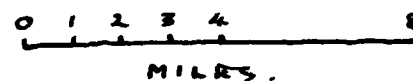
The crown's feudal rights of wardship and marriage were often sold. Sometimes the buyers were the family of the ward who wished to preserve his or her interests. Some were bought by friends who wanted to arrange marriages for their own children. Others were acquired merely as speculations. The courtier was in a favourable posit-

(1) L.P.X;392(21). (2) L.P.XIX.i.1035(108). (3) L.P.XVI;1391(60). (4) Historical Manuscripts Commission;Wells II. p.253. (5) Historical Manuscripts Commission 10th Rep. III.p.228. (6) L.P.XIV.ii.322. (7) L.P.VIII;176. (8) L.P.IX;528. (9) L.P.IX;1153.





DENNY

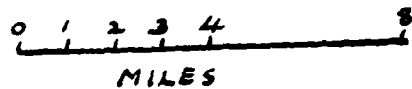


ion to obtain such wardships and our men did so largely for the first two reasons. The buyer of a wardship might secure custody of the ward and of the lands which the crown controlled, or only of the person of the ward, with or without an annuity for maintenance. Only Wallop among them, so far as we know, secured no wards. Browne had Elizabeth and Anne Hastings, Anne Bothe and the son of the executed Lord Dacre, intending most of them to be the spouses of his own children.<sup>(1)</sup> Fitzwilliam had as ward the son of his eldest brother Thomas, another nephew John Cutte, a Thomas Boswell and a share in a son of Sir Thomas Parr, all of Yorkshire families.<sup>(2)</sup> Denny gave the marriage of a certain Shelton of Norfolk to his daughter Mary. He had also the wardship of Audley's elder daughter Margaret, while Herbert, the other chief gentleman of the privy chamber, had that of the younger girl, Mary.<sup>(3)</sup> Denny besides had his nephew, George Dacres, Henry Champernowne, who was presumably a relation of his wife, and Philip Cole of Devon.<sup>(4)</sup> Cheyne had Margaret Ardern, heiress of the murdered Thomas Ardern of Faversham.<sup>(5)</sup> John Denny secured the wardship of her eldest son, Henry.<sup>(6)</sup> Lord chancellor Audley had a number of wards.<sup>(7)</sup> Where annuities were granted with these wards, they ranged in amount from £6.18s.10d. to £50.0s.0d. In 1528 Cheyne and Wallop were trying to secure the wardships of two sisters, heiresses, Katherine and Anne Broughton, step daughters of John Russell.<sup>(8)</sup> Unfortunately for Wallop, his intended

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(1) L.P. IV; 5508, XV; 436(5), XVII; 1012(13), XX.i.465(59), XXI.i.148. (2) L.P. II; 1391, 4538, III; 1121(6), IV; 2362(22), 5906, X; 1268. (3) L.P. XX.i.465(85, 88). (4) C.P.R. Edw. VI I. pp. 291, 320. (5) C.P.R. Elizabeth II. p. 129. (6) C.P.R. Edw. VI. IV. p. 9. (7) L.P. IV; 2218(12), IX; 1082, XIX.i. 1103(29). (8) L.P. IV; 4456, 4710.

# FITZWILLIAM



EVERSLEY

— SURREY —

• WOPPLESDON

• ASHE

• DUMMER

TONGHAM

DOWN PLACE

• WANBOROUGH

• GUILDFORD

• SHALFORD

FARNHAM

COMPTON

WAVERLEY

• GODALMING

OXENFORD  
GRANGE

• NEATHAM  
• DOCKENFIELD

SWARRATON

ALFOLD

— HANTS —

LINCHMERE

• SHULBREDE

• FERNHURST

ROGATE

• DURFORD

EASEBOURNE

• COWDRAY

MIDHURST

• SELHAM

• BOYATT

BURITON

HARTING

HEYSHOT

CHALTON

— SUSSEX —

LAVANT

ARUNDEL

• CALCEO

BEDHAMPTON

• WESTBOURNE

WALBERTON

WARDLINGTON

CHICHESTER

BARNHAM

LITTLEHAMPTON, RUSTINGTON

EASTNEY

ward and wife, Katherine, was secured by the formidable duchess dowager of Norfolk for her son, Lord William Howard. Wallop, a widower, did not go without his wife. In June 1529 he married Elizabeth Harleston at Windsor and the king, one of whose gentlemen Wallop then was, attended. Henry also had to pay, or more probably repay him £400 for the loss of the heiress.<sup>(1)</sup> Cheyne, a widower since 1527 or 1528, apparently kept Anne Broughton as a ward, and married her in 1539.<sup>(2)</sup> This wardship was the occasion of his quarrel with Russell, who seems to have been entitled to some payment. Cheyne had promised £800 but later tried to pay only 500 marks and was allegedly trying to cheat over the jointure and control of lands. The dispute was still in progress in 1533.<sup>(3)</sup>

According to statute the crown was entitled to one third of the lands held in chief by a deceased tenant while the heir was a minor. Audley, Browne, Cheyne and Denny all specified in their wills the particular lands which they wished the crown to hold.

It is somewhat puzzling to find that John Wallop's heir, his brother Oliver, was a royal ward. John's inquisition post mortem is filed in the records of the court of wards as well as those of the chancery, and Oliver was licensed by the court of wards to enter into his inheritance in 1552, the year after John died. Yet Oliver was old enough to have been knighted for his part in the Pinkie campaign of 1547.<sup>(4)</sup>

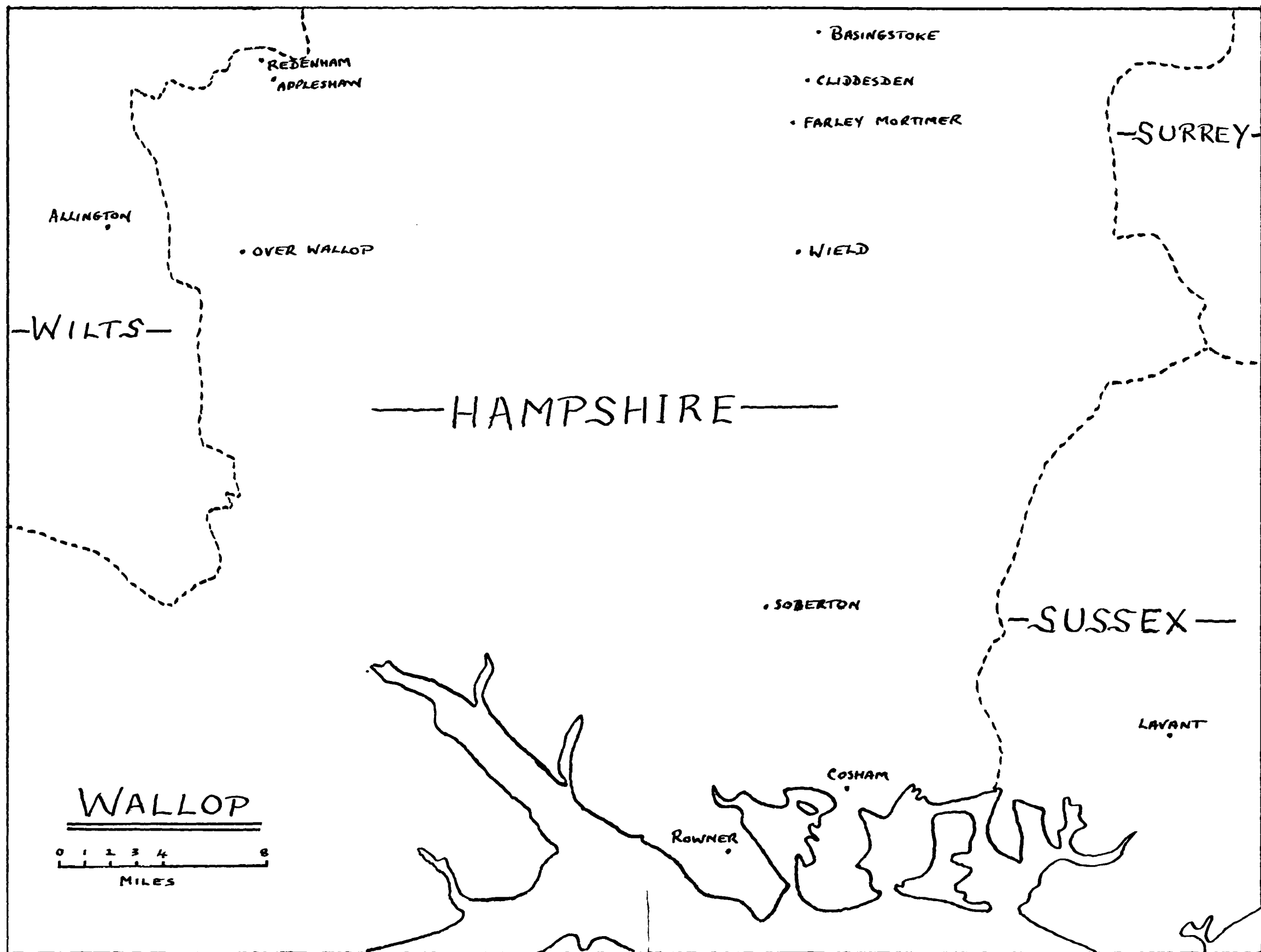
Cromwell's establishment of the court of wards and liveries is said to have tightened up the royal control over sales, but in 1545 Wymond Carew, one of Denny's

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(1) Act 27 Henry VIII c.56. L.P.IV.pp.311-2,315. (2) L.P.

(2) P.R.O. C.142.121.102. (3) L.P.VI;462,483.

(4) C.P.R.Edw.VI IV.p.234.



brothers in law, could write to another brother in law, John Gates, "My brother Denny promised me George Dacres. Pray arrange the price and I will deliver him the money." (1)

To his income from lands, from the holding of office and from the incidental benefits of holding office, the Tudor courtier could, if he were so minded, attempt to make additions from commercial activity. Fitzwilliam, always a keen sailor, had a fairly regular interest in shipping. The first note we have of this is from the year 1529, when the king was aboard "Master Treasurer's ship."<sup>(2)</sup> Richard Hackluyt, discussing the "antiquities of the trade with English ships into the Levant" lists the tall ships of London which sailed into the eastern Mediterranean between 1511 and 1534, among them the "Trinitie Fitzwilliams".<sup>(3)</sup> These vessels carried out cloth and calf skins, returning with the varied products of the East. It is possibly of significance that in 1537 Lady Fitzwilliam was said to have had conserve dishes that came out of the Levant.<sup>(4)</sup> In 1533 Matthew King wrote to Cromwell that he had sought passage in one of Fitzwilliam's ships, apparently to Messina.<sup>(5)</sup> One of his vessels was waiting in Brittany for sail cloth for the English fleet in 1539<sup>(6)</sup> and the next year Marillac reported to his government that apart from royal ships, there were in England only seven or eight vessels of more than four to five hundred tons, three of them belonging to Fitzwilliam.<sup>(7)</sup> During the naval preparations of 1540, Fitzwilliam's ships, normally hired out to merchants, were kept in his own hands. Next spring, two

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(1) G.R. Elton *Tudor Revolution in Government*. pp. 221-2.  
 L.P. Addenda; 1701. (2) L.P.V; p. 747. (3) Hackluyt *Voyages* III. p. 2 (4) L.P. XII. ii. 130. (5) L.P. VI; 33.  
 (6) L.P. XIV. ii. 43. (7) L.P. XVI; 110.

or three of them, described by Marillac as ships of war, were in readiness to convoy the fleet of fifty or sixty vessels laden with wool and victuals from Thames mouth to Calais, after which the escort was to go on to La Rochelle to obtain salt.<sup>(1)</sup> In 1541 the masters of the "Trinty Fitzwilliam" and another of his ships, the "Martin", were sentenced in the admiralty court to imprisonment, disrating and payment of damages for stranding the vessels on a voyage from London to Brittany.<sup>(2)</sup> At this date the former ship was no longer his. According to the duchy of Lancaster records he had sold it to the crown, being paid £500 in 1532-3.<sup>(3)</sup> In his will he left to the king his "great ship" with all her tackle, apparel and ordnance.

Fitzwilliam's other commercial ventures were on a smaller scale. A lease from the king in 1525 gave him certain lands, warrens and grazing rights in Castle Barnard and some lead mines in Teesdale.<sup>(4)</sup> Two years later he rented from the crown a coal mine in south Wales and at some period took a lease of markets and a Michaelmas fair at Torrington in Devon.<sup>(5)</sup> He also had a marble quarry in Devon.<sup>(6)</sup>

In 1529 Anthony Browne bought from Wolsey's son his interest in a lease of a lead smelting works near Gateshead, with all the cardinal's mines in the bishopric of Durham and all silver, iron, lead, copper and other metal ores, at a rent of £5 a year.<sup>(7)</sup> Browne supplied timber from his lands for the building of Nonsuch palace and in 1537 and 1539 was granted licences to export timber.<sup>(8)</sup>

Thomas Cheyne, a great landowner in the Isle of

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(1)L.P.XVI;344,762. (2)R.G.Marsden Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty I.pp.102,213. (3)R.Somerville Duchy of Lancaster I.p.394. Other references to his ships; L.P.XII.ii.691,XIII.ii.51. (4)L.P.IV;1377(10). (5)L.P.IV;3142(29),XX.ii.282(49). (6)C.P.R.Edw.VI III p.174. (7)L.P.IV;6094. (8)L.P.XIII.ii.342,XIV.i.191(34) XVII;71(33)

Sheppey, which was not so named without cause, raised sheep on its extensive marshes. In 1518 he received licence to export forty sacks of the island's wool to the Mediterranean.<sup>(1)</sup> In 1527 he was permitted to export five hundred sacks, no destination being specified, and in 1553, five hundred sacks at the rate of not more than a hundred sacks a year, of his own or other Sheppey wool.<sup>(2)</sup> This wool had to pay the customs export duty but was free from the tolls levied by the Calais staple. The privilege was not without risk, for in 1529 Lord Sandys, Cheyne's cousin and the deputy at Calais, was writing to the English envoy in Brussels to secure release of some unstapled wool of Cheyne's arrested at Gravelines.<sup>(3)</sup> Some wool destined for the Mediterranean was bought by Venetian merchants in England and despatched via Southampton. One Venetian with whom Cheyne dealt was Mark Anthony Erizo.<sup>(4)</sup>

Anthony Denny also had dealings with the Erizo family. In 1545 he bought two thousand "fodder" of lead from the king, presumably the strippings from monastery churches. The chancellor of the augmentations apportioned the amounts sold among the various regions by means of warrants to the royal receivers. Denny used his court influence to get prompt delivery, writing to the receiver and other officers in Bristol, which was to provide 376 fodder, enclosing the warrant and asking favour for Domenico Erizo, his factor.<sup>(5)</sup> Domenico had been in contact with Denny the year before when his partner had consigned a quantity of arquebuses to the camp at Boulogne.<sup>(6)</sup> Later, Denny secured for Erizo a warrant on the

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(1)L.P.II;4498. (2)L.P.IV;3008(12). C.P.R.Edw. VI V.p.60  
 (3)L.P.IV;5461(p.2405). (4)L.P.XII.i.1003. A.P.C.VII p. 13. (5)L.P.XX.ii.296,XXI.i.652. (6)L.P.XIX.ii.156.



exchequer for £1,200 "to be had on the custom of such goods as he shall import or export, in part payment of the stuff which your Majesty bought of him and Anthony Cassydonye."<sup>(1)</sup> In 1546 Denny had licence to export within two years 2000 quarters of wheat, 600 tuns of beer, 6000 dickers of leather and 600 dickers of calf skins containing ten dozen to the dicker.<sup>(2)</sup> On the face of it this was quite an extensive business.

Wallop in 1519 and 1520 had licence to import in each year 300 tuns of Guienne and Gascony wine and Toulouse woad.<sup>(3)</sup> Other licences granted him for export of live stock were military rather than commercial, given to him as commander at Calais castle or at Guisnes.<sup>(4)</sup> Nevertheless, he was probably able to take a profit from them.

Audley, besides securing grants of markets and fairs, was the only one of our six men who secured land in any quantity as speculation for resale. From 1536 until his death he carried on a steady sale in lands, houses and spiritualities.<sup>(5)</sup>

The gift which was in fact a bribe has already been mentioned, but in Tudor times, as in all ages, there was much giving and receiving of genuine presents. For the lower classes the bounty of employers and the rich generally, must have been an important matter, but for persons of affluence gifts must have been a more or less self balancing item in their finances. Legacies we must place in a somewhat different category, but they were nonetheless gifts. A study of the wills of our men reveals a good deal as to what the sixteenth century

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(1) L.P.XX.ii.909. (2) L.P.XXI.ii.648(60). (3) L.P.III;458.1081.F.V;6 (4) L.P.V;627(9). (5) See Chapter XI.

counted as wealth. They bequeathed lands, annuities, cash, gold and silver plate, including cups, bowls and ale cruses; jewels, clothing, including doublets, furred gowns, cloaks, embroidered things, caps with brooches; chapel ornaments, copes, vestments, altar cloths, beds, bed hangings, bed clothes, linen, cooking and kitchen equipment, corn, wood, hay, houses, horses, arms and armour, Garter collars and jewelled Georges, advowsons, wardships, board, lodging and wages. These bequests went to relatives, friends, education, the church, charities and public amenities.

The great season for gifts exchanged by the living was the New Year. The king exchanged gifts with the ladies and gentlemen of his court on New Year's day. These usually took the form of gold and silver plate, but bonnets and shirts were also among those things given by our men and their wives.<sup>(1)</sup> In 1544 Denny gave the king a splendid clock designed by Holbein. At the top was a clockwork time piece, below it morning and afternoon dials showing the time by shadow. At the bottom was a clepsydra which showed the quarter hours.<sup>(2)</sup> After prince Edward's birth, Audley and Fitzwilliam and their wives usually made gifts to him as well. Cheyne also made handsome new year gifts to the powerful Cromwell in 1538 and 1539.<sup>(3)</sup>

Gifts could be and were made at any season of the year. Presents of food, sometimes local delicacies, were common. The incessant hunting that was the prime amusement of the gentry and nobility produced venison of red and fallow deer, packed in salt canvas or already baked

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(1) L.P. IV; 1906, 3748, V; p. 307, 317, 686, VI; 32, XIII. i. 5, XIII. ii. 1280, XIV. i. 5, XV; 1, XVI; 380, 394, 1489. Strype Memorials I. i. p. 211, Nichols Literary Remains of Edward VI I. ccclv. (2) Archaeologia XXXIII p. 16, XXXIX p. 11. The drawing by Holbein is now in the British Museum. (3) L.P. XIV. ii. 782, p. 321, 325.

before presentation.<sup>(1)</sup> From the forests of northern France came wild swine.<sup>(2)</sup> Fish was common - oysters, carps, breams, salmon, mullet, bass, eels, the esteemed Selsey cockles which Fitzwilliam sometimes sent to Cromwell, once a royal sturgeon for princess Mary.<sup>(3)</sup> There were bacon and venison pasties, fowls and French wines.<sup>(4)</sup> Horses and mules were a not uncommon gift.<sup>(5)</sup> Fitzwilliam gave tame deer to the king,<sup>(6)</sup> and at another time a dozen carpets (from the Levant?),<sup>(7)</sup> Norfolk sent hawks to Wallop<sup>(8)</sup> and Cheyne sent greyhounds to Wallop.<sup>(9)</sup> "Antique pictures",<sup>(10)</sup> cramp rings,<sup>(11)</sup> glasses with silver gilt feet and covers which Wallop promised Wolsey from Germany,<sup>(12)</sup> caps,<sup>(13)</sup> kirtle cloths,<sup>(14)</sup> the magnificent pair of gloves worked with pearls which Denny received from his royal master<sup>(15)</sup> and the gloves embroidered with gold that Joan Denny sent to Lady Lisle<sup>(16)</sup> these and many other things passed between friends. Ambassadors received money, plate and mules. The king made presents of his own goods and those of attainted offenders - Denny had some of Lord Hungerford's.<sup>(17)</sup>

Some gifts must have been more embarrassing than welcome. In 1537 Lord Lisle sent Fitzwilliam a seal. Lisle's London agent had to keep it at Wapping for over five weeks before he could get hold of Fitzwilliam. "She cost me

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- (1) L.P. IV; 2323, 2344, VII; 1110, IX; 682, X; 209, XII.ii.555, 625  
XIV.ii.22, 103, 782, XVI; 772, 813, XIX.ii.688, XXI.i.712, 742  
(2) L.P. IV; 2718, V; p.748, VII; 1541, VIII; 445, XII.ii.681.  
(3) L.P. IV; 5746, V. p.748, XIV.i.520, 573. (4) ~~L.P. IV; 5746,~~  
~~V. p.~~ (4) L.P. VI; 762, VII; 1167, 1200, X; 964, 994, 1059, VIII;  
422, XII.ii.415, XV; 335; XVI; 368, 811. (5) L.P. I; 2732, 2757  
2908, III; 479, VIII; 938, 1002, XII.ii.1022, XVII; 536, XVII;  
536, XVIII.ii.381. (6) L.P. V; p.748, VIII; 938, 1002, XII;  
ii.1022. (7) L.P. VII; 44. (8) L.P. XVIII.i.826. (9) L.P.  
XVII; 405. (10) L.P. VII; 622. (11) L.P. VIII; 897, XIV.i.  
1145, XVIII.i.576. (12) L.P. IV; 2668. (13) L.P. XIV.i.680.  
(14) L.P. XII.ii.1151. (15) Russell Ket's Rebellion p.87.  
(16) L.P. XIV.i.791, 859. (17) L.P. XVI; 402.

some day sixpence in fish and yet she had not dined." Fitzwilliam sent his thanks to Lisle and a promise of venison, but asked the agent to have the seal killed and delivered to his servants to cook and send to his wife. "I see that he will keep nothing that puts him to cost."<sup>(1)</sup> It is tempting to think that in the following year Fitzwilliam took his revenge. A French pinnace was captured near Calais and brought into the Thames for inspection by the king. The mayor of Calais wanted it but Fitzwilliam persuaded the king to give it to Lisle, the deputy at Calais. A proviso was that it must always be kept ready for the king's use. Lisle's reply was to ask from where he was supposed to find the money for its upkeep!<sup>(2)</sup>

The Signiory of Venice presented Fitzwilliam and other leading councillors with "rich brigandines made of scales" a gift which Chapuys thought had been solicited.<sup>(3)</sup> When Anthony Browne married the young Elizabeth Fitzgerald, one of princess Mary's maids of honour, Mary gave her "a brooch of gold with one Balace and of the History of Susanne." In the same year as the marriage, 1542, was given to Sir Anthony Browne, "drawing her Grace to his Valentine", "a brooch of gold enamelled black with and Agate of the story of Abraham with 4 small Rockt Rubies" The princess' privy purse expenses also show several gifts of money by Fitzwilliam's wife.<sup>(4)</sup>

It was not the custom to present gifts personally but to send them by servants, who would be liberally rewarded by the recipient. The servant who brought new year's gifts to the king could expect 20s, 13s.4d, or 10s. The

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(1)L.P.XII.ii.555 (2)L.P.XIII.i.339,1034,1089. (3)L.P.VII;296. (4)F.Madden Privy Purse Expenses of Princess Mary pp.82,91,137,143,177(bis).

privy purse expenses of the king, of princess Mary, and Cromwell's accounts, contain many such entries.

The public records contain a certain amount of information on the mutual indebtedness of the king and his courtiers. It is tantalizingly incomplete, but the large size of some of the amounts involved shows the importance of the matter. In 1513 Fitzwilliam owed the king £200, granted on the security of his mother's lands. In 1521 he still owed £200. In 1523 it appears that the king owed him £200. In 1532 Cromwell had a warrant from the crown for £200, the money to be collected from Fitzwilliam. The continual recurrence of this figure suggests a long standing debt, but it may be coincidental for other sums were involved.<sup>(1)</sup> It seems that in 1530 or 1531 Cromwell began to look into Fitzwilliam's financial standing with the crown. In the ministers' "Remembrances" for Michaelmas 1529-31 are entries of "Mr. Treasurer's lands" under the heading of the yearly value of certain lordships; a roll of money owing by Mr. Treasurer; paper of debts of Fitzwilliam to the king; the names of the lordships which Mr. Treasurer has of the king within Surrey.<sup>(2)</sup> In 1531 a settlement was proposed. Fitzwilliam owed the large amount of £1,323.9s.4d. made up of thirteen years arrears of rent for the manor of Weston next Baldock and other lands, payment for a wardship, and other debts. On the other hand the king owed him £103.10s.0d. for building at Guildford and <sup>he</sup> was in credit £97.13s.4d. with the general surveyors of crown lands. He proposed to settle by surrendering Weston for the manor of Witley in Surrey.<sup>(3)</sup> What was arranged we do not

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(1) L.P. II; pp 1459, 1482, III; 1544, 1548, IV; p. 85, V; 1285,

(2) L.F. VII; 923. (3) L.P. V; 219.

know, but at his death Fitzwilliam held neither Weston nor Witley. In 1532 Cromwell's remembrances have as an entry "Mr.Treasurer's pardon for his debt."<sup>(1)</sup> In 1533 they note "A pardon to be assigned to Mr.Treasurer in recompense of his manor," and "Mr.Treasurer's pardon under the broad seal."<sup>(2)</sup> In February 1532 he owed the king £50 which may have been included in the settlement and in 1535 he owed £100.<sup>(3)</sup> His heirs owed the crown £34, and perhaps £50 as well in 1546.<sup>(4)</sup>

Thomas Cheyne was loaned the sum of £400 in January 1513, according to the king's book of payments. It was to be repaid by yearly installments of £100, but in 1517 he still owed £400.<sup>(5)</sup> In 1542 he was 2¼ years in arrears on a small debt with the augmentations. The total involved was only £15, but he was among those who received privy seal orders to pay or appear before the augmentations court on a stated day, on penalty of £100.<sup>(6)</sup>

John Wallop owed the crown in 1546 the sum of £138. 9s.1d. which was seven years rent arrears for the manor of Upton in Somerset.<sup>(7)</sup>

Audley owed the king £133,6s.8d. in 1536. This sum is a round two hundred marks and looks more like a loan than a rent or purchase price.<sup>(8)</sup>

Indebtedness was not always on the side of the subject. We have seen that Fitzwilliam laid out money on the king's business. In July 1543 Cheyne had a warrant for £341.6s. 8d. on the augmentations for money disbursed about the king's affairs.<sup>(9)</sup> The straitened financial condition of the government during the 1543-46 war with France, which drove it to the dangerous short term remedy of debasing

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(1) L.P.V;1548. (2) L.P.VI;284,299,300. (3) B.M.Royal Ms.7 C.XVI.f.78, L.P.VI;1613, VIII;169. (4) P.R.O. E.36.133 L.P.XXI.i.1280. (5) L.P.II.p.1459, P.R.O. S.P.1.9.f.179. L.P.I.3483, P.R.O. S.P.1.15.f.71v., L.P.II;3087. (6) P.R.O. E.315.331., L.P.XVII;256. (7) P.R.O. E.36.133. f.60, L.P.XXI.i.1280. (8) P.R.O. S.P.1.104 pp.288-97 L.P.X;1257. (9) L.P.XVIII.ii.231 pp.127-8, XIX.i.368.

the coinage, is illustrated by its dependence on the cash and credit of individual courtiers. In 1545 Browne was repaid £1000 which he had advanced to the treasurer of the wars in the previous year.<sup>(1)</sup> At the same time, so low had the king's credit sunk, that loans raised in Antwerp had to be underwritten by courtiers like lord chancellor, Wriothesley, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and Sir Anthony Browne, and by financiers like the Greshams, before the Antwerp houses would lend even for a short period.<sup>(2)</sup>

Cromwell loaned money on occasions. In 1529 he advanced £50 to Wallop, the debt being without conditions but repayable in a year's time. The amount was still outstanding in 1536.<sup>(3)</sup> In contrast. he lent Fitzwilliam £100 in September 1537 and was repaid in November.<sup>(4)</sup>

In the absence of private papers or accounts it is very difficult to discover just how prosperous our representatives of the new men were. Audley was Cromwell's jackal and we have indications that he habitually grumbled to his tiger that his pickings were lean. In an undated holograph letter written during the months when he was keeper of the seal, (May 1532-Jan.1533), he complained that since he took office he had run into debt. He wanted Cromwell to get him Christchurch in London, "that poor house", and its lands, the £100 due to him as speaker of the commons, and a loan of £600 from the king. His expenses when promoted serjeant at law in 1531 had been 400 marks, and since he had the great seal he had laid out a lot of money on a house, etc. "I pray you burn this letter or keep it secret, for my necessity

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(1) L.P.XX.i.557. (2) L.P.XIX.i.630, 725, 733, 759, 768, XX.ii.596, XXI.i.319. (3) P.R.O. S.P.1.53.46v., E.36.141.p.8 E.36.142.f.30v. L.P.IV;5330, V;1285, X;1171.  
 (4) L.P.XIV.ii.782.

appeareth in it, which I would that all should not know."<sup>(1)</sup> He returned to the matter after he was chancellor. He repeated his request for Christchurch and for lands to help with its upkeep since it was in such poor repair. It was not worth more than £120 a year and he could have made more in the law, but the king and Cromwell had induced him to take office. Never had chancellor so little to live by. He had not more than £40 annual value of land, otherwise he would spend willingly in the king's service. Since he held office he had sold land worth £10 a year, and a house and land worth a thousand marks, the latter to pay part of a debt of £1,200. He had lost by his office all his fees, (presumably as a barrister in Westminster Hall <sup>(2)</sup>), which were about one hundred marks a year. His fees as chancellor were nearly £800 but this scarcely paid for his housekeeping, victuals being so dear. He had no parks and lived mostly in London. If the king would grant him Christchurch it would increase his credit. Let this be granted and he would not ask for more. It would be a disgrace if a chancellor of England died with lands worth less than two hundred marks a year, when a merchant or lawyer would expect to leave more. He had nothing to offer Cromwell in return but £20 to buy a couple of geldings. As Christchurch was an ancient church he would provide daily service and prayers for the king and queen in it.<sup>(3)</sup>

In the years which followed Audley's finances greatly improved, but a letter written to Cromwell in 1538 is very similar in tone to the last. Audley had been disappointed of his hopes first of St. Osyth's and then of St.

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(1) P.R.O. S.P.1.74.vi.no.2. L.P.VI;2. (2) C.S.P.Venetian  
1527-33; 771. (3) L.P.VI;927.



John's, Colchester. As a consolation he asked Cromwell to favour his suit for an exchange of lands with the king and then he would never ask for anything more. "Sythen his Majesty made me a baron and sythen I married my wife I never axyd enythinge, and now I am abashed ... I married at his Majesty's commandment, and his Grace said that he would consider it and what I should have had otherwise your lordshipp knoweth for avancement of myn heyres; but yet I repent never a whit of my marriage but have great cause to thank the king's Majesty for inducing me to it; for assuredly I have happened of one much to my contentation and honesty; and if God send us children, which I desire, the king's Majesty hath made me a baron, and all my lands exceed not clear by £800, wherewith I am right well content."<sup>(1)</sup> A nauseous mixture of begging and fawning which is typical of Audley's correspondence with Cromwell. The marriage to which he referred, his second, had not been without profit. The bride was a daughter of the late marquess of Dorset who had left her £900 out of certain of his manors but had died in debt to the crown. In December 1538 Audley received a warrant for £500 of this sum to be paid by the augmentations and his receipt is extant. He also had all the "specyalties" concerning the balance of the money. He could scarcely complain of hard treatment on that score.<sup>(2)</sup>

To arrive at anything more than the roughest assessment of the income which our men achieved is not possible. There are too many unknown quantities involved. True as this is in the case of income from land, it is even more

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(1) L.P.XIV.ii.775. (2) Historical Manuscripts Commission 1st.Report p.12; 8th Report pt ii.p.25.

so in the case of other sources of income. What figure are we to set against Fitzwilliam's shipping ventures, for example? What did Cheyne make from his office of warden of the Cinque ports, in addition to his salary? What profit did Denny obtain from his immediate access to the king's ear? Audley's income from his chancery fees may well have exceeded all the rest of his income from offices, for a reliable estimate of the figure which Wolsey attained is not less than £2,000 a year.<sup>(1)</sup> Audley had not the advantages of power and influence which enabled the cardinal to amass his gigantic income, but he was an industrious lord chancellor and a keen hunter of his dues. The following tables must therefore be read as showing the minimum income which each of our men received from lands and from office in the year which saw their deaths.

		<u>Land</u>	<u>Office</u>
Fitzwilliam	1542	£1020	£700
Audley	1544	950	930
Browne	1548	1050	600
Denny	1549	700	200
Wallop	1551	300	75
Cheyne	1558	1600	400

The comparatively poor fortune of Wallop is noticeable. It is to be remembered that he was the one longest out of physical contact with the court, either on embassies or at Guisnes. Cheyne's landholdings were to some extent swollen by his longevity. In Edward VI's reign he picked up over £300 a year value of church land.

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(1) A.F.Pollard Wolsey p.324.

## OFFICES OF PROFIT

HUDLEY

		L.	s.	d.	
1524	Town clerk: Colchester	?			Gurney Benham <u>Red Book</u> p. 29
1526-31	Attorney-general: duchy of Lancaster	40.	0.	0	Somerwill p. 407 DL/28/7/5 f. 6 v.
1529-32	Speaker of the commons	200.	0.	0	<u>L.P.</u> iv; 6043(1,2) (in 1531)
1531-32	King's serjeant-at-law	21.	19.	0	<u>L.P.</u> v; 559(17) E/101/421/6 m. 34: 48
1532-33	Keeper of the great seal	?			<u>L.P.</u> v; 1075: 1499(9)
1533-44	Lord chancellor	542.	15.	0	} <u>L.P.</u> vi. 73. } <u>L.P.</u> xix. 1. 610(41)
"	" ; sitting in star chamber.	200.	0.	0	
"	" ; in lieu of twelve tuns of wine	64.	0.	0	
1540-44	High steward of augmentation lands in the north	100.	0.	0	<u>L.P.</u> xvi; 745 E/315/219
1540-44	Duchy of Lancaster				
	Constable; Hertford castle	6.	13.	4	} Somerwill pp. 604-6 } DL/42/22 f. 162
	Porter ; " "	3.	0.	10	
	Keeper + parks of Hertford and Hertingfordbury	3.	0.	10	
	Steward in Essex and Middlesex	10.	0.	0	
?	Steward; St-Alban's monastery ?	20	0.	0	<u>L.P.</u> vi; 1075

Note: • signifies that the holder was entitled to herbage and pannage

## OFFICES OF PROFIT

BROWNE

			L.	s.	d.	
1520	(Some office in the royal household)		20	0	0	<u>L.P.</u> iii; 1114.
By 1526	Gentleman of the privy chamber:	in 1524	33	13	4	<u>L.P.</u> iv; p. 863
		in 1545	50	0	0	<u>L.P.</u> xx. II. Appx. 2.
1534-48	King's standard bearer		100	0	0	<u>L.P.</u> iv; 4896. vii. 823.
1539-48	Master of the horse		40	0	0	<u>L.P.</u> xiv. I. 651 (32)
		by 1545	66	13	4	<u>H.O.</u> p. 200
1540-48	Captain of gentlemen pensioners		66	13	4	<u>L.P.</u> xv; 506
		by 1545	137	6	8	<u>L.P.</u> xx. II. Appx. II
1543-48	Master of the king's harriers		18	5	0	<u>L.P.</u> xviii. I. 474 (40)
1516	Master of hunt; castles and lordships of Hatfield, Thomas Cusborough	Usual fees				<u>L.P.</u> ii; 4449
	Surveyor	"				C/66/632 m. 2.
1523-32	Surveyor: honour of Rayleigh	?				
	Keeper: park of "	6	1	8	0	<u>L.P.</u> iv; 1298 (1)
	Master of deer hunt; Rayleigh and Thundersley	?				C/66/645 m. 24
	Bailiff of hundred of Rochford	10	0	0	0	
(From 1525-32 the four above offices were shared with the marquess of Dorset)						<u>L.P.</u> iv; 2218 (17)
1525-?	Lieutenant of the lordship of the Isle of Man	Usual fees				<u>L.P.</u> iv; 1718
	(During the minority of Edward Stanley)					C/66/647 m. 4
1526	Keeper of the manor of Woking	3	0	10	0	<u>L.P.</u> iv; 2599 (23)
	Keeper of the park of "	Usual fees				C/66/649 m. 2
1526	Bailiff of Surrey in Windsor park (with Fitzwilliam)	4	11	4	0	<u>L.P.</u> iv; 2132, 3087
1527	Keeper of Byfleet park (with Fitzwilliam)	Usual fees				<u>L.P.</u> iv; 3324 (3)
						C/66/650 m. 17.
1527	Keeper of Guildford park	(With Steward: lordships of Worplesden and Witley Fitzwilliam)				
	Master of the hunt of Witley					
1529	Keeper of Windsor great park (with Fitzwilliam)	6	1	8	0	<u>L.P.</u> iv; 5243
1536	Keeper of house called Le Nete	3	0	10	0	<u>L.P.</u> xiii. I. 1520
	Keeper of garden	3	0	10	0	E/315/232 f. 58
	Bailiff and collector of rents in manors of Nete, Ebury and Hyde (Middlex)	3	0	10	0	<u>Col. Pat. R. Philip</u> and <u>Mary. I. p. 66.</u>

	Duchy of Lancaster	L.	s.	d.	
1529	Constable: Pevensey castle	33.	9.	2	Somerville pp. 615, 617 DL/42/22 f. 157 v.
	Steward: " "	4.	10.	3	
	Steward: Eagle honour, Pevensey lordship.	Usual fees			
1542	Master forester: Ashdown forest	Usual fees			Somerville p. 612 DL/42/22 f. 166 v.
1542	Woodward of woods, formerly of Chertsey monastery, in Windsor forest; Surrey bailiwick	?			L.P. xviii. I. 982
1542	Bailiff of Fynes and Fynchamstade: Windsor forest	9.	2.	6	L.P. xvii. 1443(6) E/66/715 m. 18
	A forester of Windsor forest	Usual fees			
	Keeper of king's house in the park				
1543	Keeper: Bognor park	Usual fees			L.P. xviii. I. 474(39)
	Keeper: Henley park	9.	2.	6	
1543	Chief steward: honour of Petworth	26.	13.	4	
	Feodary: " "	3.	6.	8	L.P. xviii. I. 982
	Keeper of Le Woodase: "	3.	6.	8	
	Master forester, parker, master of hunt -	3.	6.	8	
	Steward: manor of Godalming	2.	0.	0	E/315/235 f. 131 v.
	Bailiff: hundred of "	2.	0.	0	
	Keeper: manor of Chobham	3.	0.	10	
	Keeper: park of "	3.	0.	10	L.P. xxi. I. 302(34)
1546	Warder, chief justice in eyre; forests north of Trent	100.	0.	0	
	Keeper, master of hunt				
to 1541	Constable: Herlode castle, north Wales	50.	0.	0	L.P. xvi: 947(43)
by 1547	Keeper: Otlands palace	?			L.P. xxi. II. 754
by 1548	Constable: Nottingham castle	?			Cal Pat R. Ed VI. I p. 274
by 1548	Keeper: new chase at Hampton Court	?			Jasent. A.P.C. II pp. 190-1
1546	Chief steward: Wells cathedral	5.	0.	0	H.M.C. 10. II. p. 233 H.M.C. Wells II. p. 262
1519	Gentleman of Francis I's household (place and wages to be kept for him whenever he should return)	50.	0.	0	L.P. xvi: 947(43)

OFFICES OF PROFIT CHEYNE

		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
1514	King's spear	66.	16.	8	<u>L.P. ii</u> : p. 1459
By 1526 1539	Gentleman of the privy chamber: as late as 1528	33.	16.	4	<u>L.P. ii</u> : 2735
		50.	0.	0	
1539-58	Treasurer of the royal household	123.	14.	8	Whithesley I. p. 94
1536-58	Warden of the Cinque ports [in 1494]	146.	0.	0	<u>L.P. x</u> : 1015 (16)
	Constable: Dover castle				<u>C/66/670 m. 24.</u>
1512	Constable and porter: Queenborough castle	Usual fees			<u>L.P. i</u> : 1123 (9)
	Steward: lordship of Middleton and Meriden				<u>C/66/616 m. 13</u>
By 1529	Portcove: hundred of "	?			<u>L.P. xxi. II</u> : 773. i.
1525	Keeper: Rochester castle	Usual fees			<u>L.P. iv</u> : 1466 (16)
					<u>C/66/647 m. 4.</u>
1525-36	Chief steward: manor of Writtle - £354	6.	13.	4	} <u>L.P. iv</u> : 4896 (14)
	Receiver: " "	5.	0.	0	
	Bailiff: " "	3.	0.	10	
	Keeper of park: " "	3.	0.	10 <sup>0</sup>	
	Duchy of Lancaster				<u>C/66/668 m. 14</u>
1528	Steward and receiver in £354	10.	0.	0	Somerville p. 606
					<u>D.L/42/22 f. 100</u>
1540	Keeper of the wood: Chestenwood	3.	0.	10	<u>L.P. xv</u> : 942 (22)
1541	Constable: Saltwood castle	9.	2.	6	} <u>L.P. xvi</u> : 1500
	Keeper: Westynhanger mansion	9.	2.	6	
	Chief steward: manor of Alington	9.	2.	6	
	Chief steward: manor of Chilham	2.	0.	0	
	Bailiff: " "	5.	0.	0	
	Woodward: " "	2.	0.	0	
	Keeper of park: Westynhanger	6.	1.	8	
	Keeper of park: Alington	6.	1.	8	
	Keeper of park: Saltwood	6.	1.	8	
	Keeper of the deer: Lynnhage park.	?			
1533	Bailiff and vergar: Sandwich	18.	5.	0	<u>Cal. Pat. R. Ed. vi. v</u> : p. 78.
1557	Waterbailiff: Dover	?			<u>Cal. Pat. R. Ph. et al. IV</u> : p. 122
by 1535	St. Paul's collector of ancient rents in London and Middx.	8.	6.	8	<u>L.P. ix</u> : Appx. 2.
by 1535	High steward: archbishop of Canterbury's lands.	40.	0.	0.	<u>L.P. xvi</u> : 271
by 1536	High steward: St. Seabroke monastery lands.	3.	6.	8	<u>Valor Eccl. vol. I</u> : 77

OFFICES OF PROFIT. DENNY.

		<u>l.</u>	<u>s.</u>	<u>d.</u>	
1535	Yeoman of the wardrobe in the royal household	5.	17.	4	<u>L.P.</u> ix; 218 <u>H.O.</u> p. 168
1536	Groom of the chamber	20.	0.	0	<u>L.P.</u> xi; 519 (12) <u>H.O.</u> p. 168
1537-47	Gentleman of the privy chamber	either or	33. 50.	13. 0.	4 0 <u>L.P.</u> xiv. I. 144
At least 1541-49	Customs and collector of tithes and poundage; London	Usual fees			<u>L.P.</u> xvi; 678 (27) <u>Cal. Pat. R. Ed. VI. I.</u> p. 19.
1536	Keeper of York place	18.	5.	0	<u>L.P.</u> x; 226 (34)
1536	Keeper of Westminster palace	9.	2.	6	<u>L.P.</u> x; 226 (35)
by 1547	Keeper of St. John's, Clerkenwell	26.	5.	0	<u>L.P.</u> xxi; II. 754 <u>Cal. Pat. R. Ph. &amp; Mar. I.</u> p. 54
1536	Keeper of new park near Westminster, Le Tenys playes, bowling alleys, cock place and pheasant courts	12.	13.	4	<u>L.P.</u> x. 226 (33)
	Bailiff and receiver of rents in King's messuages near Charingcross and those lately acquired from Westminster abbey.				and usual profits
1538	Bailiff: manor of Cheshunt	6.	1.	8	<u>L.P.</u> xiii. II. 734 (10)
	Keeper: Brantingessley park	1.	10.	3	<u>Cal. Pat. R. Ed. VI. I.</u> p. 243
1539	Steward and bailiff: manors of Bedwell and Berkhamsted	2.	0.	0	(steward)
	Keeper: Bedwell park and hunt	10.	0.	0	(remainder)
	Keeper: King's house of Bedwell and little garden				<u>L.P.</u> xiv. II. 780 (27)
	Herbage and pannage: Bedwell park	3.	6.	8	
	Free warren of coneyes	3.	6.	8	
1542	Keeper: site and capital messuage: Waltham mon.	15.	4.	2	<u>L.P.</u> xvii. p. 692
	Keeper: streams and waters: Waltham	3.	0.	0	<u>Cal. Pat. R. Ed. VI</u>
by 1547	Keeper: Waltham park	6.	1.	8	I. p. 243
1542	Steward: manor of Cheshunt	2.	0.	0	<u>L.P.</u> xvii; 71 (14)
1542	Keeper: Hatfield mansion and garden	6.	1.	8	
	Keeper: park called Innynges in Hatfield	3.	0.	10	
	Bailiff: manor of Hatfield	2.	0.	0	
	Chief steward: "	2.	0.	0	<u>L.P.</u> xvii; p. 692
	Keeper of Great wood park " (with Peter Brewer)	4.	11.	3	<u>E/315/235</u> f. 91.
	Keeper of middle " "	2.	5.	7½	
	Keeper of Lovent Garden	6.	1.	8	
	Keeper of chief man's " of Hanyebone and woods there				

## OFFICES OF PROFIT

FITZWILLIAM.

			L. s. d.	
1509	Second anaphor. to the king	(in 1539)	33. 13. 4	<u>L.P. i</u> ; 54 (67)
1513	Esquire of the body - "		33. 13. 4	<u>L.P. i</u> ; 1732 (47), 1836
1512	King's spear		60. 16. 8	<u>L.P. ii</u> ; p. 1460
1525-37	Treasurer of the royal household		123. 14. 8	<u>L.P. iv</u> ; 2343-44
1527-42	Master of the king's harriers		18. 5. 0	<u>L.P. i</u> ; 1662 (45)
1523-26	Lieutenant of Guisnes		63. 3. 4	<u>L.P. iii</u> ; 3027
1526-30	Lieutenant of Calais castle		56. 10. 0	<u>L.P. iv</u> ; 6490
1536-40	Admiral of England		133. 6. 8	<u>L.P. xi</u> ; 385 (15)
1540-42	Keeper of the privy seal		365. 0. 0	<u>L.P. xvi</u> ; 220 (38)
1529	Chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster		144. 13. 4	DL/28/7/5 f. 5v.
1532-42	High steward: Oxford University		5. 0. 0	<u>Hist. Reg. Univ. Ox.</u> p. 20.
1530	Warden and chief justiciar ex-re: forests south of Trent (shared)		50. 0. 0	<u>L.P. iv</u> ; 6794
1511-42	Keeper of Guildford Park			<u>L.P. i</u> ; 804 (43)
	Steward of lordships of Worplesdon and Witley	(Shared)	Usual fees	C/66/615 m. 6
	Master of the hunt; Witley			<u>L.P. iv</u> ; 3087
1513-42	Briliff: lordships of Hatfield and Thorne		Usual fees	<u>L.P. i</u> ; 1732 (43)
	Keeper of park " " " (Yorbs)	(Shared)		C/66/619 m. 22.
1514-42	Briliff of Surrey in Windsor park (shared)		4. 11. 3	<u>L.P. i</u> ; 2964 (23)
? - 42	Keeper of Kingshot park.		Usual fees	<u>L.P. i</u> ; 3499 (35)
				C/66/623 m. 18.
1516-42	Keeper of Henley park		9. 2. 6	<u>L.P. ii</u> ; 2389
1524	Offices in Barnard castle, Richmond and Middleham		23. 3. 2	<u>L.P. iv</u> ; 297 (14)
	(shared)			
1527	Keeper; Byfleet park (shared)		Usual fees.	<u>L.P. iv</u> ; 3324 (3)
1527	Keeper (etc); forests of Teesdale and Harwoodhag		Usual fees.	<u>L.P. iv</u> ; 3540 (16)
1529	Keeper of Windsor great-park (shared)		6. 1. 8	<u>L.P. iv</u> ; 5243
1529	Surveyor and receiver of kerseys, London and Southampton		50. 0. 0	<u>L.P. iv</u> ; 6072 (18)
	(shared)			
1535	Steward: honours of Petworth		6. 13. 4	
	Keeper of the great park; "		3. 0. 10	<u>L.P. ix</u> ; 1063 (8)
	Keeper of the little " "		3. 0. 10	C/66/677 m. 2.
	Keeper of the Warren; "		2. 0. 0	



		L. s. d.	
	Duchy of Lancaster		
1527	Constable and steward: honour of Pontefract	100 . 0 . 0	<u>L.P.</u> vii; 923. x; 1268
	Master of the game: " " "		(Held for only a few months)
1538	Warden of Eastbere forest		Usual fees <u>SP</u> 1/128. p. 199
	Warden of Porchester castle		<u>L.P.</u> xiii. I. 189
1542	Constable of Porchester castle		Usual fees <u>L.P.</u> xvii; 1154(?)
	Lieutenant of Southbere forest		
1539	Chief steward of Margaret Pole's lands		(Manor of Warblington) <u>L.P.</u> <del>xiv</del> . ii . 113
	to 1542 Chief steward: lands of Pontefract monastery	5 . 0 . 0	<u>L.P.</u> xxi. I. 1538
	in 1535 Chief steward: Newark monastery	2 . 0 . 0	<u>Val. Eccl.</u> ii p. 34
	in 1538 Steward of Hamthorpe: Roche monastery	1 . 6 . 8	<u>L.P.</u> xiii. ii Appx 256

## OFFICES OF PROFIT.

WALLOP.

		L.	s.	d.	
1514	King's spear	60	16	8	<u>L.P. ii</u> ; p. 1464
1528?	Gentleman of the privy chamber	33	6	8	<u>L.P. v</u> p 319
-1539?	(His service was broken; he probably held the office for two fairly short periods)				
1524-30	Marshal of Calais	49	16	8	<u>L.P. iv</u> ; 208 <u>Chronicle of Calais</u> p. 136
1530-41	Lieutenant of Calais castle	56	10	0	<u>L.P. iv</u> ; 6490 (23)
1541-51	Lieutenant of Guisnes	63	3	4	Cotton; Faustina E. viii. f. 74
1552	Constable and bailiff; manor of Trym, Ireland	10	0	0	(Irish) { <u>L.P. iv</u> ; 390 (2) <u>Cal. Pat. and Close Rolls</u> <u>Irish</u> p. 310
1529	Surveyor of Kersays; London and Southempton (Shared)	50	0	0	<u>L.P. iv</u> ; 4124 (17) (Held for a few months)
1528-30?	Keeper; Dinton park, Surrey	4	11	4	<u>L.P. iv</u> ; 5510 (6)
1540	Keeper of Dogmansfield manor, Hants	3	0	10	{ <u>L.P. xvi</u> ; p 714 <u>Cal. Pat. R. Ed. VI. I.</u> p 24
	Keeper of park	?			
	Bailiff of	?			

### Chapter XIII Education and Learning.

Although the prince they served was well educated and a founder of university chairs, the military men among our courtiers had an educational equipment which was largely utilitarian.

The two "civilians" provide a contrast to their fellows in this matter. Audley's learning has been called in question both in his own day and in ours, but the weight of evidence is in favour of his being a well educated man. The French ambassador in 1540 asserted that he could speak neither French nor Latin.<sup>(1)</sup> In Alice Alyngton's letter to Margaret Roper, Audley is made to rejoice that he has no learning save a few of Aesop's fables and he proceeds to relate two which he considers apposite to Sir Thomas More's situation. When Margaret recounted this to her father, More pointed out that one of the fables was misapplied and the other was not Aesop's.<sup>(2)</sup> Yet Audley had, it appears, spent some time as a student at Cambridge, and it is impossible to think that he could have done so without Latin. He was a common lawyer and a member of the Inner Temple where he was Reader in 1526 and, according to Foss, his lecture on the statute of privileges gained him such repute that the attention of the duke of Suffolk was drawn to him and he gained his first patron.<sup>(3)</sup> Matthew Parker, Elizabethan archbishop, placed him in the category of More for wit, eloquence and law.<sup>(4)</sup> In a letter to Cromwell he wrote, " ...also send me word where I might buy any of the books that ye gave me, for I would send some down into

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(1)L.P.XV;804. (2)E.F.Rogers The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More pp.511-14. (3)E.Foss Judges of England V. No authority is cited. (4)J.Strype Life of Archbishop Parker I.p.61,III.p.163.

the country to my friends, if ye think that I may so."<sup>(1)</sup> He knew at least enough Latin to conclude this letter, "Et valete". Another letter made mention of his "study" at Christchurch, but this may have been a private office rather than a place for reading, for he was writing of the whereabouts of a patent grant and added "I should not like any to come there but myself."<sup>(2)</sup>

In 1540 Audley was sponsoring the education of some English boys in France. Their tutor or governor wrote from Paris acknowledging receipt of a "letter of bank" for "these your gentlemen" and added that the children naturally desired to see their own country again, and that their learning and conduct was highly satisfactory; " .. better wits shall not come out of England a great while, if there come any such."<sup>(3)</sup> In the previous year he had secured two chantries in Colchester for the corporation of the town to found a free school according to statutes devised by the chancellor. Thus was begun the present Colchester Grammar school. Audley died before the statutes were made, but the corporation drew them up in 1553.<sup>(4)</sup> In 1538 Audley had been granted two turns in presenting to the mastership of Jesus College, Cambridge, a power which probably included financial advantage but was nonetheless an educational responsibility.<sup>(5)</sup>

It was in 1542 that Audley made his greatest contribution to the education of succeeding generations. He was given permission to refound Buckingham College, originally Monks' College, a Benedictine establishment at Cambridge that had been dissolved with the monasteries. The new foundation was to have the existing buildings and

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(1)L.P.V;1066. (2)L.P.XII.ii.747. (3)L.P.XV;456. (4)L.P.XIV.ii.619(31), V.C.H.Essex II.p.502. (5)J.C.Smith and Others. Index to the Baker Manuscripts in the British Museum.

the meagre property - two gardens with ponds in them - and in addition was granted licence to acquire lands to the yearly value of £100. It was to have a master and eight fellows nominated by Audley and appointment to the mastership was to remain to him and to his successors as lords of the manor of Walden. It was to be called St. Mary Magdalene.<sup>(1)</sup> The licence to have £100 in land seems to indicate that Audley intended to provide it, but he did not do so in 1542 and we are without information as to the value of the parsonage of St. Katherine Christchurch (less certain tithes) which he bequeathed to it. The only figure we have is the additional bequest of a great garden in the neighbouring St. Botolph's parish which was leased at £9 a year. He also left a gift of ornaments acquired from a Colchester church - a chalice, a pair of silver censers and incense boat, a silver and gilt cross - and from his own chapel two vestments and three copes. His executors were to devise statutes for the college, which they did in 1554.<sup>(2)</sup>

Anthony Denny, educated at St. Paul's school and St. John's, Cambridge, was considered by his fellows a man of wit and learning. Leland found him so at school,<sup>(3)</sup> he served Sir Francis Brian, a man deeply interested in letters,<sup>(4)</sup> and Ascham wrote of him, "Religio, doctrina, respublica, omnes curas tuas sic occupant ut extra has tres res, nullum tempus consumas."<sup>(5)</sup>

His circle of friends was predominantly protestant and learned. Thomas Cranmer, William Butts, John Chamber, Richard Morison, Edmund Harvel, Roger Ascham, Thomas

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(1) L.P. XVII; 283(9). (2) C.R.O. P.C.C. F.1.Alen, V.C.H. Cambridgeshire III.p.450. (3) J.Strype Memorials II.ii.p.41. (4) L.P. V; 363. (5) S.Knight Life of Colet Miscellanies pp.392-3.

Sternhold, Philip Hoby, Thomas Eliot, Richard Cox, Walter Buckler, Matthew Parker and John Cheke were among his friends and associates.<sup>(1)</sup> Cheke eulogised him when he died in an effusion which asserts his religious zeal and his hold on king Henry's affections and puts it all in a strongly classical setting of Muses and Olympians.<sup>(2)</sup> Denny, Cromwell and the king's librarian recommended Eliot to Henry when his dictionary was in preparation and he was granted access to the royal books and the king's advice into the bargain.<sup>(3)</sup> There are about a thousand books catalogued in the inventory of goods in Denny's charge as keeper of the palace of Westminster.<sup>(4)</sup> Yet his friendships were not exclusively protestant. Apart from the entirely catholic king, he had the friendship of the poet earl of Surrey. Henry Howard wrote an epitaph on Denny, a man he predeceased by two years, and during his last imprisonment translated some parts of the old testament, dedicating psalm 87 to Denny.<sup>(5)</sup>

Like Audley, Denny was a patron of learning. He seems to have arranged his nephew's educational visit to Venice, where he came under Harvel's eye.<sup>(6)</sup> The college of Stoke by Clare in Suffolk, where the antiquarian Matthew Parker was dean was, according to Strype, saved from dissolution by the intercession of Denny and queen Katherine Parr with Henry VIII.<sup>(7)</sup> When the place was dissolved under Somerset, Denny wrote to the commissioners, urging that Parker be given a good pension.<sup>(8)</sup>

The Dictionary of National Biography article on Denny contains a number of assertions for which little or no authority is cited. It says that he was considered a

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- (1) J. Strype Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer p.172, L.P. XV; 726, XVIII.i.576, XIX.i.810(114), ii.726, ~~XX.ii.909~~. (2) J. Strype Life of Cheke p.167. (3) L.P. XIII.ii.852. (4) P.R.O. E.315.160, L.P. XVII; 267. (5) E. Bapst Deux Gentilhommes Poètes de la Cour de Henry VIII p.361. (6) L.P. XVIII.i.576, 714, 725. (7) J. Strype Life of Archbishop Parker pp.42-4 (8) B.M. Additional Ms. 5783 p.161.

good scholar at Cambridge, which is not improbable, but it also describes him as the refounder of Sedbergh school in Yorks, a far too strong description of the part he played. He had no northern connections and his interest in the matter arose from the fact that the school was the property of his old college, St.John's. There are two letters in the college archives, (both attributed to Ascham,) one to Denny and the other to Somerset, from which it appears that attempts were being made to appropriate the school's lands and that Denny had used his influence against such efforts.<sup>(1)</sup>

The D.N.B article also states that the young princess Elizabeth resided much at Denny's house at Cheshunt from 1544 onwards. The evidence is extremely tenuous. All we know is that Ascham came from Cambridge to Cheshunt in 1548 to be her tutor.<sup>(2)</sup> Furthermore, we know that in the same year she wrote a letter to Katherine Seymour, formerly queen Katherine Parr, in which we find "Master Denny and my lady, with humble thanks, prayeth most entirely for your Grace, praying Almighty God send you a most lucky deliverance."<sup>(3)</sup>

Denny had precise and extensive views on the upbringing of children and his will contains long instructions on how his own were to be cared for, emphasizing the need for very exact choice of schoolmasters and governesses and the provision of education in godly knowledge of good letters, profitability to the commonwealth, navigation of their lives by the lodestar of Christ, and love of their native country.

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(1) T.Baker History of the College of St.John the Evangelist, Cambridge I.pp371-2. (2) J.Bennet The English Works of Roger Ascham p.266. (3) F.A.Mumby The Girlhood of Queen Elizabeth p.18. The author also prints, with reservations, a letter very like the above, supposedly written to Jane Seymour when she was pregnant in 1537. It is hard to imagine a child of four could have written it, and it refers to "Mr.& Mrs.Denny", who were not married until 1538.

The upbringing of the fighting man cum courtier cum ambassador of Tudor days was perhaps more vocational training than liberal education. We may recall what the "Liber Niger Domus Regis Edward IV" has to say about the upbringing of the Henxmen in the royal household. They were to be taught to ride, to fight, to joust, to know "courtesy"(polite behaviour), to harp, sing, pipe and dance, and to learn languages. All these things might have their use in court or camp, whether the court was that of their own or a foreign prince. French was the commonest and most necessary second tongue for ambassadors in northern Europe. Fitzwilliam, Browne, Cheyne and Wallop all served in the court of Francis I. Fitzwilliam was described as having skill in the French tongue.<sup>(1)</sup> Cheyne, who had spent part of his youth in France, was ordered to deliver to Francis an address "well couched in the French tongue, not as an orator, but as a familiar, friendly and kindly message."<sup>(2)</sup> Wallop must have known French and probably his wife, who was with him in France, spoke it too.<sup>(3)</sup> Like Fitzwilliam, Wallop had long service not only at the French court, but also at Guisnes, with considerable official and social contact with French and imperial commanders in that area. While there is no direct evidence of Browne's skill in French, he was frequently there and all the implications are that he could converse freely. French would also serve well enough in the Netherlands. Cheyne made brief visits to Italy but we do not know if he had the language. Fitzwilliam had none in 1521<sup>(4)</sup>, but Wallop in France received letters in Italian, which he may have read

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(1)L.P.IV;1901. (2)L.P.IV;2039. (3)L.P.XI;1342.

(4)L.P.III;1161.



Wallop was the most travelled of all our men. On his journey into central Europe and his service at Tangier it is probable that Latin in rudimentary form would see him through, but in two years with the Portuguese he must have picked up a working knowledge of their tongue. The humanist Vives wrote that he had talked with Wallop about many things, as he, like Ulysses, had visited many countries and knew the customs and tongues of many men.<sup>(1)</sup>

Other evidence for learning among the four soldiers is scant. They founded no educational establishments and left no mark on letters. Although in Cheyne's will there is a reference to his study, this, as in Audley's case, may have been a private office. It is mentioned in connection with account books and rent rolls. Browne, father of a large young family when he died, thought sufficiently highly of education to leave a good advowson to the schoolmaster of his children.

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(1) L.P. IV; 6795, VII; 183.

Chapter XIV Families and Family Connections

Thomas Cheyne was the son of his father's second marriage. Both he and his elder half-brother Francis were established in the court when Henry VIII succeeded to the throne, but Francis had only a brief career. In 1511 he died in Flanders, commanding a company in Poyning's small force. He left no children and his widow married another courtier, Sir William Compton.<sup>(1)</sup> The Cheyne family had a collateral connection with the Tudor line, and Francis' mother was a Boleyn. On two occasions when Thomas fell foul of Wolsey he was helped and protected by Anne Boleyn.<sup>(2)</sup> Among his father's brothers were Edward Cheyne, dean of Salisbury, and the notable Lord (John) Cheyne. His father's sister married Sir William Sandys of the Vyne in Hants, father to Lord Sandys, the lord chamberlain.<sup>(3)</sup>

Thomas married first Frideswide, born in 1499 the daughter and heiress of Thomas Frowyk, a chief justice of the common pleas.<sup>(4)</sup> It was no great catch, although the girl had a modest inheritance in Middlesex and Berkshire. The date of the marriage is uncertain, but John, the only surviving son, was "about twenty" in 1535.<sup>(5)</sup>

Frideswide had died before April 1528<sup>(6)</sup> and Cheyne thereafter remained unmarried until 1539. The son, John, had an unfortunate career. He married Margaret, a daughter of George Neville, Lord Abergavenny, a magnate in Kent. Another of Neville's daughters married Thomas Fynes of Hurstmonceux in Sussex, Lord Dacre (of the south). In April 1541 Dacre, John Cheyne and others

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(1) L.P.II;p.1453. (2) L.P.IV;4081,5210. (3) Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica I. pp.313-4. (4) C.Inq. P.M.Henry VII III.p.III. (5) Will of George Neville Lord Abergavenny. Notes and Queries IX Series,III  
 (6) P.R.O. C.142.119.II4. (p.383)

were tried for homicide in a poaching affray and condemned to death. Dacre and three others were executed, but John Cheyne was among those pardoned, the difference in treatment giving rise to considerable comment since Cheyne had already been involved in a similar piece of business. (1)

At times John was on very bad terms with his father. In the November of the same year, 1541, and at the height of the Katherine Howard episode, he accused his father of treason before the privy council. The charge was wild for he could produce no more evidence than that Thomas had images in his chapel. As the accusation seemed to the council to arise "rather of pride than any just matter" he was put in the Tower. (2) Perhaps the warning cleared his head, for by 1544 he had sufficiently re-established himself to be given the office of treasurer in the force which, under Norfolk, Thomas Cheyne and Russell laid siege to Montreuil, and there he was killed in action. (3) He left no children and his widow married Henry Poole, a London citizen. (4)

By Frideswide, Thomas also had three daughters, Katherine, Frances and Anne. Katherine married Sir Thomas Kempe of Wye in Kent, a sheriff under Edward VI and Elizabeth. (5) When Cheyne was appointed to command the expeditionary force to the continent in 1543, (a command subsequently transferred to Wallop) he asked that Kempe, "the king's servant", should accompany the army to gain experience. (6) Katherine and Thomas Kempe had three daughters, Margaret, Anne and Alice, the last two born in 1543 and 1550 respectively. Katherine died before her

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(1) See above p. 142 (2) L.P.XVI;1375. (3) See above p. 204  
 (4) Sussex Notes and Queries III.p.204. (5) W.Berry Kent Genealogies p.486. (6) L.P.XVIII.i.655.

father. Margaret Kempe married William Crowmer of Kent and died shortly after giving birth to a daughter, Anne Crowmer in October 1557. In his will Thomas left his granddaughters Anne and Alice Kempe the handsome dowries of £200 apiece, provided they married as their father and Thomas' executors directed. To Kempe he left £100 and a horse and to Crowmer £50 and a horse or gelding. Alice Kempe married Sir John Hales of Dungeness.<sup>(1)</sup>

The second daughter, Frances, married Sir Nicholas, son of Sir Henry Crispe, a family with considerable estates in Thanet. They were childless and it was perhaps for this reason that Thomas left them as custodians of Shurland house and its properties until his heir should come of age. To Frances, his only surviving child by Frideswide, he left plate or goods to the value of £500 to be paid within six weeks of his death, a significant provision in an age when executors sometimes died years after the testator with execution of the will not completed. To Nicholas Crispe he left only a horse or gelding of his own choice. To both he gave life possession of his manor of Sturry. Sir Henry Crispe was his chief executor and Sir Nicholas and Frances among the others.

Thomas Cheyne's youngest daughter Anne married the celebrated soldier Sir John Perrot, reputed bastard of Henry VIII, deputy of Ireland under Elizabeth and executed by that queen. Anne's marriage took place sometime between 1549 and 1553. She died, leaving one son, Thomas Perrot.<sup>(2)</sup> To his grandson and namesake, Thomas left £500 at his coming of age and to John Perrot £200 and a horse. Perrot was the only spouse to Cheyne's children by

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(1) W. Berry Kent Genealogies pp. 125, 155, 210.

(2) P.R.O. C.142.119.114.

Frideswide who was not from the county of Kent.

Cheyne's second marriage was to Anne Broughton, a Bedfordshire co-heiress who was also his ward. She was step daughter to John Russell, first earl of Bedford. The marriage was not entirely harmonious and was at one stage complicated by a mother in law and measles. In May 1558 Thomas wrote from Shurland to Cardinal Pole, "I find by yours that the queen thinks I have been in the city, where I should have been had she not signified her pleasure for me to abide here, which is great bondage, having been at liberty all my life. I promised the queen to have my wife here at Midsummer, and so I will, if she will come; but she left me against my will, and I do not think she will be willing, or her mother suffer her to come here, this and all the houses in this isle being so plagued with measles."<sup>(1)</sup> At the end of July the queen wrote to Cheyne, commending him for receiving his wife again and continuing in house with her lovingly.<sup>(2)</sup> By this marriage Thomas had a son, Henry, born about 1540 and so a minor when his father died in 1558.<sup>(3)</sup> The crown granted his wardship to his mother's step brother, Francis Russell, second earl of Bedford.<sup>(4)</sup> By 1562 Henry Cheyne was a J.P. in Kent. His mother died the same year and he inherited her lands, mainly in Bedfordshire and including the house from which he was to take his title of baron Cheyne of Toddington when he was summoned to parliament in 1572.<sup>(5)</sup> He seems to have abandoned interest in his father's Kent lands, selling not only Thomas' beloved Shurland but even the chapel at Minster which contained the remains of his father and

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(1) C.S.P.Domestic 1601-03; Addenda 1547-65. p.477 (2) C.S.P.Domestic 1547-80 p.104. (3) Holinshed Chronicle p.157. (4) C.P.R.Elizabeth I p.27 (5) C.P.R.Elizabeth II. pp.458,607. Burke Extinct Peerage I.p.112.

ancestors.<sup>(1)</sup> Known, in an age of conspicuous waste, as the extravagant Lord Cheyne, he married the daughter of Thomas, Lord Wentworth, was one of the peers who tried Mary Stuart, and died in 1587, without issue.<sup>(2)</sup>

To his widow, besides her jointure, Cheyne left £500 to be paid within six weeks, to his mother in law, the dowager countess of Bedford, £100 in "consideration of her great friendship and love towards me and mine ..", to Francis Russell, earl of Bedford and William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, each £100 and a horse and to Lord William Howard, husband to Cheyne's wife's sister, £50 and a horse, with the request that they protect and assist his executors.

It seems that in the eyes of Tudor society there was no discredit to a man in illegitimate children. The Tudor gentlemen made provision for such in their wills. Thomas Cheyne left a yearly sum of £20 to his bastard Davye. Since the executors were directed to find for him and bring him up in such fashion as his abilities indicated, we may assume that he was under age by some years in 1558, thus being born after his father's second marriage. If Anne Cheyne was not a complaisant woman it is possible that we have here at least part cause of her quarrel with Thomas.

William Fitzwilliam, great nephew of Warwick "the kingmaker", belonged to a numerous family. Warwick's brother, John Neville, marquess Montagu, had a son, George, duke of Bedford and five grown daughters, of whom one, Lucy, married Thomas Fitzwilliam of Aldwark, William's father. Fitzwilliam was thus second cousin to

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(1) W. Bramston History of Minster p.35.

(2) Burke Extinct Peerage I.p.112.

Edward, earl of Warwick, executed 1499, and Margaret Pole countess of Salisbury, executed 1541, who were the children of the kingmaker's daughter, Isabel, and George, duke of Clarence. Thomas and Lucy Fitzwilliam had a large number of children. The eldest son was called Thomas but the order of seniority of the others is uncertain. Besides Thomas and William there seem to have been three other boys, John, Richard and Edward, and two girls, Margaret and Elizabeth. Margaret married Sir William Gascoigne. Elizabeth was twice married. Thomas and John were killed at Flodden, Thomas leaving a son of the same name who became ward to his uncle William and died in 1525.<sup>(1)</sup> He also left three daughters, Anne who died unmarried, Alice who married Sir James Foljambe and Margaret who married Godfrey Foljambe, perhaps James' brother. Alice and James had a son, also Godfrey, who with his aunt Margaret was feudal heir to Fitzwilliam.<sup>(2)</sup>

In November 1513 Fitzwilliam married one of queen Katherine's gentlewomen, Mabel Clifford, sister to Henry the first earl of Cumberland. The marriage was childless and Mabel survived her husband and died in 1550.<sup>(3)</sup>

Fitzwilliam made mention in his will of a number of relatives. To his niece, Mabel Browne, he left £400 for her dowry. Also named are Thomas Harvey, son to his sister Elizabeth, a cousin Lady Katherine Hennage, another niece, Lucy Browne, another cousin, Elizabeth Burgh, his sister Margaret Gascoigne, John Cutte and William, Lord Herbert, nephews by his mother's second marriage, and Margaret Foljambe.

Besides the Clifford relationship Fitzwilliam also had

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(1)L.P.IV;2475 (2)M.Archdall;Revision of J.Lodge Peerage of Ireland II.pp.164-5. (3)L.P.II;1462, G.E.C Complete Peerage XII.p.121.

alliance with another great northern family, for Lord Darcy referred to him as his cousin.<sup>(1)</sup> He had relatives in his service - another William Fitzwilliam, Thomas Burgh, and Hugh, son of John Fitzwilliam of Hadysley, Yorks, "put young to my lord Fitzwilliam, earl of Southampton" when the court was at York in 1541.<sup>(2)</sup> Such service was not menial, but part of a boy's education, and a Tudor grandee had his entourage of gentlemen in the same way as the king had his of nobles and courtiers.

William had one illegitimate son, Thomas Fisher or Fitzwilliam. No reference is made to him in his father's will, but he appears in the inquisitions post mortem. In 1538 Fitzwilliam made a comprehensive settlement of most of his lands in Surrey, Sussex and Hants, and perhaps elsewhere, taking advantage of the 1536 Statute of Uses to will the descent of his property away from his entail heirs, the Foljambes. For the most part it went to Mabel with remainder on her death to Anthony Browne, Thomas Fisher and John Fitzwilliam of Mexborough, Yorks, in that order and failing bodily heirs in each case. The Sussex manor of Heyshott was to go to Fisher when Mabel died.<sup>(3)</sup>

Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam of Aldwark died sometime between Easter 1496 and June 1498.<sup>(4)</sup> Lucy, his widow, married Sir Anthony Browne, the royal standard bearer, who died at Calais in 1506. In the interim period she bore him a son, (our Anthony Browne) and two daughters, Elizabeth who married Henry Somerset, earl of Worcester, and Lucy who married first Sir Thomas Clifford, brother of Henry earl of Cumberland and of Fitzwilliam's wife, Mabel, and secondly Sir John Cutte.<sup>(5)</sup> Our Anthony Browne married

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(1) L.P.VII;1143, XI;1065, Addenda;749. (2) W.Flower Visitation of Yorkshire pp.125-6. (3) P.R.O. C.142.70. 28,29,56, E.150.497.3. (4) R.Somerville Duchy of Lancaster I.p.529. (5) Burke Extinct Peerage I.p.78



twice. His first wife was Alice, daughter of Sir John Gage, the vice-chamberlain. Between 1528, when she first appears as his wife, and her death in 1540 Alice bore him at least ten children.<sup>(1)</sup> They were, Anthony, the eldest son, William, Henry, Francis, Thomas, George and Henry the younger, and Mary, Mabel and Lucy. Anthony was made a knight of the Bath at Edward VI's coronation, sat for Guildford in the 1547 parliament, was licensed by the court of wards in 1550 to enter into his inheritance,<sup>(2)</sup> and turned out a stout Romanist who was Fleeted for hearing mass under Edward VI; he entertained the king at Cowdray in 1552 and was given a peerage by Mary in 1554, taking the old Montague title of his great-grandfather John Neville; in Elizabeth's reign his religious views kept him in the background. He married Jane, daughter to Robert Ratcliffe, earl of Sussex. He was joint standard-bearer with his father and equerry of the stables when the elder Browne was master of the horse. He accompanied Cheyne on his brief embassy to France in 1546.<sup>(3)</sup>

To each of his younger sons Anthony Browne left an annuity of forty marks, and to Francis the custody and marriage of a ward, Elizabeth Hastings, presumably with a view to his own marriage. In the event Francis married Anne Goring of Burton, Sussex, and William Browne married Elizabeth Hastings' sister, Anne. Mary Browne married John Grey, a younger son of the marquess of Dorset, Mabel married Gerald, earl of Kildare, and Lucy, intended by her father for his ward, Lord Dacre, married Thomas Roper of Eltham.<sup>(4)</sup>

After two years as a widower, Sir Anthony Browne remarried in December 1542. His second wife was Elizabeth

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(1) L.P. IV; 3991(8), XV; 477. (2) C.P.R. Edw. VI III. p. 173, Strype Memorials II. i. p. 36. (3) Strype Memorials II. i. pp. 9, 451, L.P. XXI. 1. 1235, ii. 769(II, 1, 12), 771(2), Dictionary of National Biography, C.R.O.P.C.C. 10 Coode  
(4) W. Segar Baronium Genealogicum. IV p. 318.

Fitzgerald, one of the three daughters of the ninth earl of Kildare, who with their mother had come to England when their father was imprisoned in the Tower. Elizabeth became a maid of honour to princess Mary and it was in her house at Hunsdon that the earl of Surrey saw the twelve year old child about whom he wrote his sonnet "The Fair Geraldine". The marriage was attended by the king and Mary, and Ridley preached a notable sermon.<sup>(1)</sup> The D.N.B. states that Browne was sixty years old and his bride only fifteen. Such discrepancy in age would have been great even for the period, but it cannot have been a fact. Browne's mother was not a widow of her first husband until at the earliest April 1496, so in December 1542 Sir Anthony cannot have been upwards of forty five years. Elizabeth's brother, Gerald the eleventh earl, was in time to marry Browne's daughter Mabel. By his second marriage Browne is said to have had two sons, both dead in infancy.<sup>(2)</sup>

In his will Anthony Browne made provision for two illegitimate children. Charles was left an annuity of £10 and Anne a marriage settlement of £100, which would only be £50 if she married without the consent of her father's executors. With so many children to provide for it is small wonder that the testator had to apologise to the executors for "these simple legacies coming from the father of so many children." The simple legacies were not, however, to be despised for they included his Georges of the Garter, standing cups and bowls, a furred gown and remission of debts.

A family connection of Browne's which is obscure is that with the Talbots. George, earl of Shrewsbury|

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(1) Strype Memorials II.iip.116, H.Christmas Works of Nicholas Ridley p.X. (2) J.Dallaway History of Sussex I,ii,p.246

referred to Anthony as his cousin.<sup>(1)</sup>

The half brothers, William Fitzwilliam and Anthony Browne, served Henry VIII in court, household and camp together and for a long time and they were seemingly on amicable terms throughout. Fitzwilliam left to Browne the reversion of much of his property and a handsome dowry to the niece who was named after his own wife. On two occasions he took action to protect Lucy Browne, another niece, from the malice of an enemy in the court, where she was serving.<sup>(2)</sup>

John Wallop was the eldest of three brothers, the other two being his heir, Sir Oliver, and Giles, a priest. Through Oliver's descendants the Wallop line ultimately entered the peerage and became earls of Portsmouth. Oliver was knighted after the battle of Pinkie in 1547.<sup>(3)</sup> John was much older than Giles and, according to John Vives, loved him more like a father than a brother. He had spoken to queen Katherine of Aragon about him and she had asked Vives to write to Giles on the subjects of learning and virtue, which he did. Giles appears to have been abroad at the time, perhaps at a university.<sup>(4)</sup> Since there is no mention of Giles in John's will it seems probable that he predeceased him.

Another relative who appears frequently in connection with Wallop is his "brother in law" Thomas Barnaby. In 1534 he was trying to secure Barnaby a post in the Calais garrison, where Wallop commanded the castle.<sup>(5)</sup> Some years later he was in royal service as a courier. On matters of religion they differed, for Wallop was in Barnaby's eyes "popish" and he himself "English".<sup>(6)</sup>

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(1) L.P. XI; 1187. (2) L.P. XVI; 1411. (3) A. Collins Peerage of England IV. pp. 291 et seq. (4) L.P. IV; 6795. (5) L.P. X, XIII, XV, XVI, XVII. (6) Strype Memorials II. ii. p. 492.

Wallop was twice married. His first wife was Elizabeth St. John, widow of Gerald, eighth earl of Kildare, who had died in 1513.<sup>(1)</sup> The marriage may have taken place about 1520-21 when Wallop was serving in Ireland. The union was without issue and the wife died some time before 1529. In June of that year, Wallop being one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber, the king was present at his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Clement Harleston of Okinden, Essex.<sup>(2)</sup> She survived him and the marriage was also childless. It was a misfortune which Wallop shared with Fitzwilliam, with the additional disappointment of a second marriage and hopes again unfulfilled. As late as 1536 Wallop and his wife were still hoping. To Lord Lisle, whose wife was pregnant, Wallop wrote that he rejoiced for their sakes and also because it gave hope to himself and his wife, "considering not to be so long married as you two, and either of us being younger, man for man and woman for woman." If they could return from his French embassy and live quietly at his post in Calais castle, perhaps the same good fortune might attend them.<sup>(3)</sup>

Wallop's wife was with him during his last two embassies in France, and is mentioned on a number of occasions as being at Guisnes with him after 1541.<sup>(4)</sup> Her brother, Clement Harleston, served under his command in the 1543 campaign against Landrecies. In his will Wallop remembered his cousin, John Cooke, who was his surveyor as well as being serjeant of the king's hart hounds. He left him an annuity of £6.13s.4d., a furred gown and a velvet cloak.<sup>(5)</sup>

Thomas Audley was presumably the elder of the two known sons of Geoffrey Audley of Earls Colne, Essex. Both

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(1) A. Collins *Peerage of England* IV, pp. 291 et seq.

(2) L.P.V; 311-2. (3) L.P.XI; 1342. (4) L.P.X, XI, XV, XVI, XVIII. I-XXI. ii., C.S.P. Foreign 1547-53. (5) C.R.O. P.C.C. 24 Bucke.

boys were christened Thomas. Thomas the younger had three sons. The first two were christened Thomas. Their father then relented and the third was called John.

Thomas Audley, the very pattern of a Tudor new man, declared in his will that he had no goods or lands of old inheritance and therefore could freely dispose of his property. The fact that the king's chief servant in the law could be wrong in such a matter shows what a maze that law must have been. He left Berechurch and other Essex property to his brother with entail to Thomas the elder his nephew. Shortly after his death in 1544 the legatees had to secure a pardon under the great seal for the making of the bequest without royal licence.<sup>(1)</sup>

Like Cheyne, Browne and Wallop, Thomas Audley was twice married. His first wife was Christina, daughter of Sir Thomas Barnadiston of Suffolk. We know little of the lady beyond the lack of living issue of her marriage. Thomas was on good enough terms with his father in law to spend the night in his house after hunting in the locality. The Barnadiston family must have been numerous and clamant, for one of Audley's servants complained that so many of them looked to the chancellor for promotion that he himself despaired of securing any. In January 1538 Christina died. Thomas buried her and "took great thought".<sup>(2)</sup> His thoughts presumably bore fruit in the following April, when he made a great match with Elizabeth, sister to Henry Grey, marquess of Dorset. Grey was father to Lady Jane and went to the block in 1554 as a result of his part in the attempt to put her on the throne.<sup>(3)</sup> The former town clerk of Colchester had come a long way and the fine

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(1)L.P.XIX.1.1035(37,159). (2)D.N.B., L.P. VII;1113, XIII.1.170 ,866. (3)Wriothesley Chronicle I.p.78.

Marriage was soon followed by the grant on advantageous terms of the late monastery of Walden.<sup>(1)</sup>

With his second bride Audley acquired as a mother in law the dowager marchioness of Dorset and a certain amount of trouble in consequence. The lady was involved in a dispute with her son the marquess. In February 1538, even before his marriage, Audley with Cromwell was trying to arrange a settlement, but a year later had still not succeeded. By this time the marchioness was resident in his house at Christchurch, London.<sup>(2)</sup>

In his will Audley remembered his family in no niggardly fashion. His wife had her jointure, £200 in plate, a large quantity of chattels and two hundred marks to set up house. His daughters had plate, Margaret to the value of £40 and Mary of £20, to be given when they came to fifteen years of age. They were also his heirs, with inheritance of the property settled on their mother and of the one third of the lands earmarked for the crown during their wardship. Thomas the brother and the three nephews were given plate and his wife's younger brothers £20 each to buy a horse. Her eldest brother, the marquess, had £20 to be supervisor of the will. Audley's cousins, the children of his associate and cousin, John Christmas of Colchester, received small legacies. His brother had Berechurch and other Essex lands for life, with money earmarked therefrom for the education of his three sons, the lands to go to them when he died. To another cousin, William Audley he bequeathed the house and garden which he occupied by Christchurch.

Audley's association with John Christmas, a lawyer and

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(1)L.P.XIII.i.1115(23). (2)L.E.XIII.i.236, XIV.i.463, 799.

bailiff of Colchester, was a long one. They were together commissioners for the subsidy in that town in 1523 and 1524. In 1536 Audley sold him some property and both Christmas and his son George witnessed the chancellor's will.<sup>(1)</sup>

Elizabeth Grey bore Audley two daughters, already mentioned above. Margaret, the elder, grew up to marry first Lord Henry Dudley, a son of Northumberland's who was killed at St. Quentin in 1557. She then married Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, executed in 1572, by which time Margaret was already dead. They had a number of children, the eldest being that Thomas Howard who was earl of Suffolk and treasurer to James I. From his mother he inherited the Walden estates and built the magnificent house called Audley End, in which no Audley ever lived and of which the present house is only a part. The other girl, Mary, died unmarried. When Thomas died they both became royal wards, Denny securing custody of Margaret and William Herbert of Mary.<sup>(2)</sup>

Audley seems to have been somewhat oppressed by the fear of disputes over his estate. As chancellor he had probably seen and taken his profit from many such, and he had often been an executor. He made his will "to the intent there shulde be no stryffe for the same after my decease," and he prayed "my wyffe and childerne and all other my kynne to be contented and satisfied with this my will and testament without trouble by synes or vexation of any of theyme against other for any my landes or goodes."

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(1) L.P. III; p. 1367, IV; p. 236, XI; 519(9); XIII. i. 1115(44), XIV. ii. 619(31). (2) L.P. XX. i. 465(85, 88)

Anthony Denny was one of a large family, his father Sir Edmund Denny apparently being survived by six children. The eldest, Thomas, married Elizabeth Mannock and died in 1527, leaving a son, John Denny. Elizabeth married a second time, her husband being Robert Dacres, a London alderman, a common lawyer and from 1542 until he died in 1544 a member of the privy council.<sup>(1)</sup> His only son, George Dacres, became Denny's ward.<sup>(2)</sup> Denny and Dacres were frequently associated. In May 1536 Dacres signed on Denny's behalf the inventory of Cheshunt nunnery, which was soon after granted to Denny.<sup>(3)</sup> A letter of 1542 from Dacres to Denny throws light on contemporary values. He reported with satisfaction that Denny's agent had unearthed valuable plate and furnishings which the inmates of the dissolved Mettingham college had sought to conceal from Denny, its purchaser. Further business matter followed, and then "For news here at Cheshunt, my sister your wife is brought to bed of a fair daughter .. .. and she is as well as maybe!"<sup>(4)</sup> Yet Denny seems to have been a model husband and father.

Denny was probably the guardian of his nephew John. At all events he sponsored the boy's visit to Venice. Denny's friend, the very protestant English envoy in the city, Edmund Harvel, wrote that John was working well, exercising daily in "luting, vawting and also the Italian tongue", but that his physical strength was small and not to be overburdened. It may be for this reason that Anthony wanted him to come home, which he did in the autumn of 1543, but unwillingly, pleading that he had made a good beginning and wished to stay a year or two

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(1)D.N.B. L.P.XVI,XVII,XVIII,XIX. (2)L.P.XIX.i.610(5).  
 (3)L.P.XII.i.571. (4)L.P.XVII;299,322.



longer "so that it might be known that he had been in Italy."<sup>(1)</sup> In his will Denny left him a suit of clothes and a cup of the value of three or four pounds.

A sister of Denny's married John Daniel and it was probably their son, Edmund Daniel, to whom Denny left a suit of clothes, who was in his service in 1543 and for whom he obtained an office in 1545.<sup>(2)</sup> Another sister married John Gates, who was in the privy chamber with Denny, first as a groom and later as a gentleman. Under Edward VI, Gates was to go far - knight of the Bath at the coronation, vice-chamberlain, captain of the guard, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster and at the end to the block on Tower Hill with his patron, John Dudley. Gates' origins were not exalted. He was the son of an Essex knight and his sister, Dorothy Josselin, supplied shirts to Denny and did similar work for the queen. A John or Geoffrey Gates was Denny's deputy in his command in the Boulogne campaign.<sup>(3)</sup> From 1542 Gates was often approached by those who wanted Denny's assistance in suits to the king. They included Walter Mildmay, Wymond Carew, Edward North (although he could also approach his old schoolfellow direct), and even gentlemen of the privy chamber like Sir Thomas Darcy.<sup>(4)</sup> A Geoffrey Gates was Denny's steward in 1546.<sup>(5)</sup> Yet another sister, Martha, married Sir Wymond Carew, the treasurer of the first fruits and tenths. Carew, as we have seen, made use of the relationship, seeking Denny's help on behalf of his son, himself and his friends.<sup>(6)</sup> Denny promised to sell his ward, George Dacres to Carew and probably did so for Dacres is not among the wards mentioned in Denny's will.<sup>(7)</sup>

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(1) L.P.XVIII.1.576, 714, 725, ii.126. (2) L.P.XVIII.ii.211, XX.ii.706(51). (3) L.P.Addenda 1513, 1722. (4) L.P. Addenda 1799, XVIII.ii.appx.1., XX.ii.appx.14, XXI.ii.769. (5) L.P.Addenda 1772-3. (6) L.P.XVII; 417, 1075, Addenda 1593. (7) L.P.Addenda 1701.

The Carews were a numerous tribe, originating in Pembrokeshire. It is not clear where Wymond fits in, but presumably he was of the Devon branch, since he was on the commission of the peace for that county in 1543.<sup>(1)</sup> Denny's wife's mother was a Carew of Devon who married Sir Philip Champernowne.<sup>(2)</sup> Carews frequently appear in the records in connection with Denny. A John Carew sought his help in a legal matter.<sup>(3)</sup> Lady Mary Carew was given custody of a lunatic on a bill preferred by Denny.<sup>(4)</sup> Sir Gawen Carew made suit through Denny for a pardon for a friend.<sup>(5)</sup> Gawen was Joan Denny's cousin. Denny had from the king a letter to Lady Carew in favour of Mr. Champernowne, for marriage.<sup>(6)</sup> Sir Peter Carew, another of Joan Denny's cousins, had a use of land in Devon, with reversion in default of heirs to his cousin Sir Gawen and then to Anthony and Joan Denny.<sup>(7)</sup> Sir George Carew, a strong protestant, served under Wallop in the Landrecies campaign and was drowned commanding the "Mary Rose" in 1545. Sir Nicholas Carew, gentleman of the privy chamber, executed in 1539 in connection with the Exeter conspiracy, came of another branch of the family.

A fourth sister, Joyce Denny, married first William Walsingham and was the mother of Sir Francis Walsingham, and secondly Sir John Cary, from this marriage descending the viscounts Falkland.<sup>(8)</sup>

Anthony Denny married comparatively late in life. Born in 1501, it was in 1538 that he took to wife Joan, one of the daughters of Sir Philip Champernowne of Modbury in Devon. The seventeenth century cleric Thomas Fuller, declared her to have been a woman of great beauty and

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(1) L.P.XVIII.i.226(30). (2) D.N.B.Articles on various members of the Carew family. (3) L.P.XVII;388. (4) L.P.XX.ii.1067(32). (5) L.P.XXI.ii.199(21). (6) L.P.XXI.ii.199(28). (7) L.P.XXI.i.1383(110). (8) L.P.Addenda 1607.

accomplishment.<sup>(1)</sup> Her religious outlook was strongly protestant. Her eldest child, Henry, was born in April 1540 and between then and 1549 she bore Anthony four more sons,- Anthony, Charles, Edward and Edmund, and three daughters,- Anne, Mary and Douglas. Denny's will contains the most prolix instructions for the upbringing of his children and asserts that he had obtained his wards, the heirs of his friends, with a view to their marriages with his children, hoping that by being brought up together they might grow to know and like each other. He urged his wife and other executors to secure custody and wardship from the king of Henry his heir. Joan Denny succeeded in doing so in 1550.<sup>(2)</sup> For each of his younger sons he left £20 a year for maintenance and for each of the girls twenty marks. He intended his ward Margaret Audley as wife for Henry but, as we have seen, she was acquired by the Dudley family. He had agreed with Rich, the lord chancellor, for the marriage of Anne with Rich's son, with a dowry of £500; Mary he intended for his ward Ralph Shelton and for Douglas he planned marriage to Sir George Somerset's son and heir, apparently not a ward but one "whom I have certe[n] years norysshid with myne in my house for that intent." According to the "Visitation of Norfolk" ed.W.Rye, none of these planned marriages came about. This authority must be accepted with reserve as it introduces a non-existent daughter, Honor, but is scarcely likely to be uniformly inaccurate. Moreover, the times were very uncertain ones.

It is no surprise to us to learn that university education was given to at least two of his sons. It appears that Henry and Anthony were admitted to Pembroke

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(1)T.Fuller History of the University of Cambridge and of Waltham Abbey (2)C.P.R.Edw.VI IV.p.9.

college, Cambridge in 1551. Joan Denny died in 1553, before her religious opinions could lead her into difficulty, but the family tradition had been established and it was probably for this reason that the boys were transferred to Basle university in 1555. It appears that Anthony was back in England before the end of Mary's reign, admitted to the Middle Temple in 1557 and dying in 1562. Henry was admitted to the Inner Temple in 1562, became dean of Chester and died in 1574. He married twice, first Anne Grey, a niece of the duke of Suffolk, and second Honor, daughter of William, Lord Grey of Wilton, by whom he was the father of Sir Edward Denny, baron Denny of Waltham and earl of Norwich.<sup>(1)</sup>

By his will Anthony Denny earmarked the manors of Parkbury in Herts and Nazeing in Essex as a third part of his lands, to be the crown's during the wardship of his heir. They would come to Henry in due course. Other lands he left to Joan, with reversion to Henry. He also left portions of land to each of his other sons, either on Joan's death or at their majorities. To his base son William, he left £20 a year for life. The impression is that William was of age when Denny made this part of his will in 1549 and was therefore born before Denny's marriage.

To Joan his wife he left £300 in plate and furnishings to set her up in house.

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(1) J.& S.A.Venn Alumni Cantabrigiensis "Dennye, Anthony" & "Dennye, Henry". For the Denny family, Topographer and Genealogist ed. J.G.Nichols III. p.120 is more reliable than J.B.Burke Dormant and Extinct Peerage I.p.164 or R.Clutterbuck History of Hertford I.p.129.

Note. J.le Neve Fasti Ecclesie Anglicanae does not list Henry Denny among the deans of Chester, and in fact makes no reference at all to him.

Chapter XV. The Courtier at Play

The universal diversion of the upper classes in Europe at this period was the chase. Kings, nobles and gentry hunted incessantly. Henry the king was a great huntsman, and when the French recognised that Fitzwilliam had been taught his skill by a master "I showed them that it was your Grace, as it was indeed."<sup>(1)</sup> Henry was also something of a bore on the topic, as we can discern from Cheyne's words to Francis I, "Sir, your Grace doth as the king your brother doth, for when he hath been a hunting and hath had good sport, he will talk thereof three or four days after."<sup>(2)</sup> Francis was, if it were possible, a stronger addict to the chase than Henry himself. Fitzwilliam considered that the French hunted well but Browne was scornful of their methods, as he was of most things French, declaring that if Francis sent his hounds to be tried in England, where hunting was more difficult than in France because of hedges and ditches,<sup>(3)</sup> he would "like his hounds the worse as long as he liveth". Fitzwilliam invited Wolsey to come hunting at Guildford; if he would come into the forest and dine under a tree, he could show him a stag or two.<sup>(4)</sup> He invited Cromwell to come to Byfleet for hunting<sup>(5)</sup> and took Chapuys hunting in the royal parks.<sup>(6)</sup> Audley hunted, and it was after he had been following the chase in her husband's park that Alice Alington made to him her pathetic and vain appeal for help on behalf of her step-father, Thomas More.<sup>(7)</sup> Wallop hunted the hart with Francis and was a great lover of the chase.<sup>(8)</sup> Only Denny, it would seem, was not a huntsman.

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(1) L.P. III; 1160. (2) L.P. III; 2049. (3) L.P. IV; 3368.

(4) L.P. IV; 2323. (5) L.P. VI; 762. (6) C.S.P. Spanish V.p. 525

(7) L.P. VII; 1113, XIII; ii. 306.

(8) L.P. XVI; 276.

The most commonly pursued creature was the deer, red or fallow. It was hunted on horseback with the aid of<sup>(1)</sup> hounds. Greyhounds were among those used in its pursuit. The animals were also brought down with the bow. Fitzwilliam referred to Wolsey's crossbow, a weapon which required a licence for the user, at all events if he was a common man. Audley's servant had such a licence.<sup>(2)</sup> Other animals hunted were the hare and the wild boar. Fitzwilliam and Browne were in turn master of the king's harriers.<sup>(3)</sup> The wild boar was not found in England any longer but was still pursued in Europe and Wallop was invited to join in this most dangerous sport when he was in Germany.<sup>(4)</sup> During Fitzwilliam's first embassy in France, Henry asked Francis for some wild swine, evidently with a view to preserving them for the hunt in England. He promised to send some every year, suggesting that Henry make a park of a quarter to half a mile of the thickest ground he could find and leave them there until the sow had young.<sup>(5)</sup>

Yet another popular variety of venery was hawking. Cheyne made a present of hawks' bells. Fitzwilliam visited his Sussex neighbours with his hawks and his dogs. Audley and Cromwell had a present of hawks from Ireland and<sup>(6)</sup> Wallop at Guisnes had plenty of opportunity for the sport.

The amount of wealth expended on hunting is illustrated by the maintenance of numerous parks. Reference to Chapter XII will show mention of many royal parks and the salaried officers responsible for their care. The royal financial accounts show frequent expenditure on the making, repair and improvement of parks and chases.

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(1) L.P. XVI; 276. XVII; 405. (2) L.P. VII; 923, IV; 2407.

(3) See Chapter XII. (4) L.P. IV; 2718. (5) L.P. III; 1176, IV; 3437. (6) L.P. III; 2446, IX; 164, XIII.ii.392, XVII; 507, 826, XVIII.i.793.

Cheyne was imprested £300 in 1540-1 for the fencing of Ostenhanger and Saltwood parks in Kent.<sup>(1)</sup> Fitzwilliam in 1518 had £20 for enclosing certain parts of Windsor forest.<sup>(2)</sup> Denny received £100 in 1542 towards the enclosing and fencing of a new park at Waltham.<sup>(3)</sup> Browne was advanced £40 in 1546 for fencing at Guildford<sup>(4)</sup> and in 1538 he had £600 for paling, ditching and quicksetting a new chase at Hampton Court, made for the convenience of the now infirm Henry VIII and later abandoned by Somerset's government.<sup>(5)</sup>

Another activity, part sport, part training, part spectacle, was the tournament ring. This was work for the young and strong. In May and June 1510, "to avoid idleness and give exercise when hunting and hawking are not ready" there was fighting at the barriers at Greenwich, morning and afternoon.<sup>(6)</sup> Thomas Cheyne took part, as he did the next year at a tournament held to celebrate the birth of one of Katherine of Aragon's short lived sons.<sup>(7)</sup> The Revels accounts for 1516 show Fitzwilliam in a tournament held in honour of Margaret, queen of Scots, attired in blue velvet on the first day and yellow velvet and cloth of gold on the second.<sup>(8)</sup> The palace of Placentia at Greenwich seems to have been a favourite place for this sport, for in 1517, 1525 and 1526 one or other of our courtiers was engaged there. In 1517 Fitzwilliam was in the king's party, white satin, velvet and silver damask on one side and his own colour of russet on the other.<sup>(9)</sup> In 1520 Browne was one of those whose challenge was answered by the king.<sup>(10)</sup> Browne distinguished himself at the tournament held at the Cloth of Gold, where Cheyne

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(1) L.P. XVI; 125, 745, XVIII.i. 231 (pp. 127-8). (2) L.P. II; p. 1477. (3) L.P. XVII; 354, XVIII.i. 436. (4) L.P. XXI.ii. 512. (5) L.P. XIII.ii. 457, A.P.C. II. pp. 190-1. (6) L.F. I. Appx. 9, 467. (7) L.P. I; 698. (8) L.P. II; p. 1507. (9) L.P. II; p. 1510. (10) L.P. III; p. 1553.

was also in action.<sup>(1)</sup> In 1522, in a tournament held in honour of imperial ambassadors, Browne had "a (ta)bard of silver full of speers of the world broken, set on hartes broken all of gold written about in letters of black, sance remedy, without remedy."<sup>(2)</sup> At Christmas 1525 he "enterprised a challenge of feates of arms",<sup>(3)</sup> and in February 1526 the king and Browne "turnaied together, and the king with his sword, point and edge abated, had almost cut his poldron, his strokes were so great,"<sup>(4)</sup> Another tournament, in honour of French ambassadors in 1527, was the last in which we know that Browne, or any of our courtiers participated.<sup>(5)</sup>

Other pastimes were less energetic. When Henry visite Calais in 1532, after supper one day the lady marquess of Pembroke (Anne Boleyn) and other ladies, among them lady Wallop, came in masked and danced with the French king and lords. Henry then took of their vizards and they danced with the French gentlemen for an hour.<sup>(6)</sup> At court were played chess, dice and cards, among other games. When Fitzwilliam was stormbound at Calais with Anne of Cleves on her way to England, he taught her "sent", a card game favoured by the king.<sup>(7)</sup> Cromwell borrowed money from his nephew Richard at "Mr.Browne's", presumably for some gamble,<sup>(8)</sup> and Fitzwilliam won money from the king at bowls.<sup>(9)</sup>

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(1) L.P.III;p.313, J.Dallaway History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex I.ii.p.246. At Cowdray was a picture of two knights running at a tilt in the Cloth of Gold. They were Francis I and Anthony Browne, the latter substituting for Henry VIII who had unhorsed his opponent. (2) Hall Chronicle p.631. (3) Hall Chronicle p.688. (4) Hall Chronicle p.691. (5) Hall Chronicle p.722. (6) L.P.IV;3162, V;1484. (7) L.P.XIV.ii.677. (8) L.P.XIV.ii.782. (9) L.P.V;pp.748 et seq.



The great men, Cheyne and Audley among them, had their own companies of players.<sup>(1)</sup> Fitzwilliam had his minstrels.<sup>(2)</sup> Wallop, recalled from France in 1537, wrote to his friend Lisle at Calais, "Tell Mr. Porter his vyalls (viols) may be in good order as also his hawks, with whom I trust to take pastime."<sup>(3)</sup> In 1540 Wallop asked his relative Thomas Barnaby to get his (Wallop's) servant taught to play on the viols.<sup>(4)</sup> In 1539 Browne and another royal servant were ordered to prepare apparel for a play by the children of the chapel to be performed before the king on New Year's day.<sup>(5)</sup> Fitzwilliam, sent to inspect Guisnes in 1541, walked on the green after supper and watched wrestling by some of the French garrison from Ardres, wishing that Henry had been there to see the fine falls.<sup>(6)</sup>

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(1) L.P. XIV. ii. 782, XVIII; i. 392 (2) L.P. XIV. ii. 782.

(3) L.P. XII. i. 443. (4) L.P. XV; 905. (5) L.P. XIV. ii. 757

(6) L.P. XVI; 813.

## Chapter XVI     The Health of the Body

"From lighting and tempest; from plague, pestilence and famine; from battle and murder, and from sudden death, Good Lord, deliver us." (Litany 1544)

The class into which the sixteenth century put infectious disease needs no further comment. The men of the time lived in recurrent fear of sudden death by disease. The plague appears frequently in Audley's correspondence, occurring commonly in London from August to November. Another scourge was the mysterious sweating sickness. The sweat was in Fitzwilliam's house at Guildford in 1526.<sup>(1)</sup> In June 1528 it fell violently upon the court of Henry VIII. Fitzwilliam, Cheyne, Wallop and Browne<sup>(2)</sup> were among those who contracted it, none of them fatally. Henry the king fled from place to place, leaving the sick and dying behind him, conduct unheroic but perhaps wise, for he was the king and he had as yet no unchallengeable heir.

The court and household were well drilled in avoiding the royal presence if there was any suspicion of infection. We may recall that breathing upon the king with infected breath was one of the charges in the ragbag of accusations levelled at the fallen Wolsey. When the king went to Calais in 1532 there was plague in London. On his return in November, Audley and other members of the council in London "dare not approach him, as we have been conversant with the air here."<sup>(3)</sup> In 1535 Audley "dare not approach the king's presence till I know his pleasure. I have long wished to see his Grace but I

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(1) L.P. IV; 2323. (2) L.P. IV; 4403-4, 4422, 4429, 4440.

(3) L.P. V; 1542.

have a little resorted to London and some suitors of London have daily come to my house."<sup>(1)</sup> In 1537, when there was plague as far west as Kingston, the king removed from Hampton Court to Esher, reduced attendance and ordered Audley and Cromwell to bring no more than six servants each when they came to visit him.<sup>(2)</sup> In the same year Fitzwilliam reported that work on the king's ship at Portsmouth was held up by plague among the shipwrights.<sup>(3)</sup> While Cheyne watched for the imperial fleet in 1539, two men died in Dover castle from an unknown cause, "so I will not presume to visit the king till I know his pleasure."<sup>(4)</sup> When prince Edward was born in October 1537, precautions against infection were redoubled. Two members of the household of the dowager marchioness of Dorset at Croydon fell sick, not necessarily of the plague. Henry commanded that neither the marchioness, her son in law who was staying with her, nor the marquess and his wife, was to attend the christening. Fitzwilliam pointed out that the marquess and his wife had not been at Croydon, but the king's pleasure was still to give them thanks and to spare them for that time. Cromwell was told to thank the lord mayor and his brethren for their congratulations and to tell them the king's pleasure was to spare them and many others "for the more surety of health."<sup>(5)</sup> In the summers of 1533 and 1536 the route of the royal progress was changed because of the sweat.<sup>(6)</sup> In 1538 Fitzwilliam's servants were delayed in visiting his newly granted property in Devon because of pestilence in the area.<sup>(7)</sup> The November session of parliament was prorogued before it met in 1532 and again in 1535 on account of plague in London.<sup>(8)</sup>

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(1) L.P. IX; 450 (2) L.P. XII.ii.774 (3) L.P. XII.ii.794  
 (4) L.P. XIV.i.701 (5) L.P. XII.ii.891-2 (6) L.P. VI; 948  
 IX; 619 (7) L.P. XIII.i.235 (8) L.P. V; 1450 IX; 370

The normal practice was for those who could remove from an infected area to do so. In August 1535 Audley informed Cromwell of his intention to go to his house at Colchester for a month as they were dying of plague in London.<sup>(1)</sup> He did so, but by mid-September had returned as near as Old Ford, but dared not go back to his house at Brittons as a woman had died there. At Cromwell's request the queen lent the chancellor her house at Havering-at-Bow.<sup>(2)</sup> Henry was not always so careful for his servants as he was for himself. He left Audley as head of the council in London during the northern progress of 1541. The chancellor's mother in law died at his house at Christchurch and to avoid risk he wanted to go to Terlyng in Essex, but Henry would not let him remove so far from London.<sup>(3)</sup>

First of our men to die was William Fitzwilliam. He either suffered a good deal of sickness during the last twenty years of his life, or he was a hypochondriac. There is no hint of illness until 1522, but in the year before he had accompanied Francis I on campaign in northern France and conditions had been very bad. Many of his servants were ill because of sleeping on cold ground and he gives the impression that his own circumstances had been little better. Early in 1522, before his return to England, he fell ill of colic and fever. Colic, a very vague disease, was to become his "old complaint".<sup>(4)</sup> He was somewhat sick for a week in August of the same year, and in 1525 and in 1527, he being in France on both occasions, we hear of the same disease.<sup>(5)</sup> In January 1528 he had both colic and "the stone", the latter also becoming chronic with him.<sup>(6)</sup> He was robust enough to

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(1) L.P. IX; 41. (2) L.P. IX; 90, 209, 310, 358, 370, 450.  
 (3) L.P. XVI; 1156 (4) L.P. III; 1947, IV; 1758. (5) L.P. IV;  
 1823, 1850, 2790, 2799. (6) L.P. IV; 3812.

survive the sweat in the same year and we hear no more of sickness for a while. When he was in Calais in 1535 he took pains to secure a lodging with a garden in which "wholesome walk" would be conducive to his health.<sup>(1)</sup> He returned home to find his wife unwell. She made some recovery but a few weeks later fell ill with "the stitch" and the physicians said that her liver was "corrupted."<sup>(2)</sup> Later the same year he had an attack of colic and stone but was recovered, according to his letter to Cromwell, "by the comfortable words of the king and your kind letters."<sup>(3)</sup> In February 1536 he was very sick of the stone and kept to his house,<sup>(4)</sup> but later in the year was well enough to keep the field against the northern rebels in good health. In 1537 he wrote of a "rheum which distill-eth and falleth from my head to my stomach"<sup>(5)</sup> and at some time he had a "burning ague" for which the king gave him a powder.<sup>(6)</sup> A fresh complaint appears in 1538, a "sore leg". "By reason of my riding yesterday my humour troubled me in my flank and descended to my leg and ankle, so that on alighting I could not put my foot to the ground. What with my ache and my ill stomach together I could do nothing of my charge overnight and so went to bed, first applying to my leg a plaster devised by Mr. Buttes and the king's surgeon, and taking certain pills which have wrought so on me that I feel somewhat eased."<sup>(7)</sup> In 1540 Chapuys referred to an Italian physician who was very familiar with Fitzwilliam.<sup>(8)</sup> His fatal illness came in 1542, when he was preparing for the Scots campaign. His companions attributed its onset

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(1) L.P.VIII;605. (2) L.P.VIII;902, IX;4 (3) L.P.IX;50.  
 (4) L.P.X;336-7. (5) L.P.XII.i.528. (6) L.P.XIII.i.1491.  
 (7) L.P.XIII.ii.344,392,1070, XIV.i.15,29,53.  
 (8) L.P.XVI;214.

to melancholy and anger at the general mishandling of preparations for the expedition, but there is also mention of an inability to digest food, and not all Dr. Buttes' pills, in which he expressed his confidence, could cure him.<sup>(1)</sup> His death appeared to be caused by his "Ordinary malady of the stone."<sup>(2)</sup>

Audley was the next to die, in 1544. From the time he emerged on the national scene and hence into the national records, there are intermittent references to his health. Like Fitzwilliam he was troubled with the stone. "He had "stomach feeble and great pain in the back of the head", "marvellous faint and feeble heart with intermittent fever", "marvellously pained with the stone and dared not ride", "very ill at ease these two nights and had taken a glister that morning", "troubled with a sore and aching right foot and could neither step nor go". On 30 April 1544 the physicians despaired of his recovery, but what it was that killed him we do not know.<sup>(3)</sup>

Browne, so far as the records go, had a more or less clean bill of health until his death in 1548. He survived the sweat in 1528 and had a cough in 1534, which is all that we know of his illnesses.<sup>(4)</sup> Denny's record is even less full, for his death in 1549 is our first intimation of his mortality.<sup>(5)</sup>

Wallop survived the sweat in 1528 only to die of it in 1551. Strype declared that the sweat was very severe in that year and Godwin described it as the worst yet.<sup>(6)</sup> On a brief visit to France in 1528 Wallop had been troubled with a cough or "murre" which was worsened by the wet weather.<sup>(7)</sup> In 1541 there is reference to a bad leg which

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(1) L.P. XVII; 813, 940, 943-4, 946, 950. (2) L.P. XVII; 963, 1017.  
 (3) L.P. VI; 2, 927, 976, 1049, 1063. XI; 465. XIV. i. 1044. XIV. ii. 775. Addenda. i. 1646. Wriothesley Chronicle I. p. 147  
 (4) L.P. VII; 1198. (5) C.R.O. P.C.C. 37 Populwell. (6) A.P.C. III. p. 309. Strype Memorials II. i. p. 493. Godwin Annals p. 243. (7) L.P. IV; 4137, 4210.

made it painful to ride post.<sup>(1)</sup> during his last embassy in France he had a horse litter.<sup>(2)</sup> This did not prevent his leading of an active life in command at Gusines during his last ten years, although during the 1543 campaign he was laid low for two weeks by an ague.<sup>(3)</sup>

Cheyne was generally free from ailments until the last part of his life. In 1545 he was troubled with a "naughty whoreson ague" and was required by the king to take care of himself.<sup>(4)</sup> On his French embassy in 1546 he was ill on the outward journey<sup>(5)</sup> and his return was briefly delayed because while hunting his horse fell on his worse leg. These bad legs seem to have been endemic among the court gentlemen from the king downwards and possibly arose from falls in the tournament ring and the hunting field. We might almost class them as an occupational disease. In 1550 Cheyne received licence for life to take meat and milk foods in Lent and other fasts, a probable concession to age and infirmity.<sup>(6)</sup> Next year he had permission to be absent from the feast of the Garter on account of sickness.<sup>(7)</sup> His decease was unusual according to Holinshed. His "pulses,(by the report of his surgeon), laboured more than three quarters of an hour after his death, so strongly as though life had not been absent from the body." One wonders how they defined death. "By the report also of the same surgeon, he had the sweetest face of death to behold for one of his years that ever he saw, and died so quietly and patiently that neither his face, mouth, eyes, hands or feet were uncomely used in the changing of this his life."<sup>(8)</sup> To Dr.Martyn, his physician, Cheyne bequeathed £10.

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(1)L.P.XVI;488,833. (2)L.P.XVI;476.(3)L.P.XVIII.ii.129.  
 (4)L.P.XX.i.584. (5)L.P.XXI.i.1185,1239. (6)C.P.R.Edw.VI  
III.p.330. (7)A.P.C.III.p.260. (8)Holinshed Chronicle  
IV.p.157.

## Chapter XVII Funerals and Monuments.

Audley at Saffron Walden, Browne at Battle and Cheyne at Minster in Sheppey have visible tombs. Fitzwilliam in Newcastle, Denny in Cheshunt and Wallop in Guisnes lie in unmarked graves.

In Tudor days the funerals of the great were the business of the heralds of arms, and very imposing and expensive affairs they could be. Browne, who died at Byfleet in May 1548, directed in his will that he be buried in the same tomb with his first wife, Alice, in Battle church. Masses and dirges "according to the ancient and laudable custome of the churche of England" were to be said by his chaplains and the parish clergy. To the church he left £3.6s.8d. and directed that not more than £100 be spent on his funeral, exclusive of the provision of mourning clothes. On the day of his burial £20 was to be given to the poor to pray for his soul. Although he died at Byfleet the funeral procession, according to a contemporary account, began in London and passed through East Grinstead, Buxted, Cade Street and Dallington to Battle, a journey of sixty to seventy miles which took five or six days. The painter's charges were over £25 and were for providing a standard, a banner of arms, four guidons and pennons, a coat of arms and a sword. Coat, crest, target and sword were offered in the church at the conclusion of the funeral. The painter provided also three dozen buckram scutcheons, four dozen paper scutcheons "in metal" and four dozen in colour, "shaff-erons" for the horses heads, braces of iron, six banner staves and a hamper to contain the stuff. Garter king



of arms was paid £2 for his services and £2 for black clothing, and the herald 5s. a day for his attendance.<sup>(1)</sup>

Cheyne's will directed that if he died within forty miles of the Isle of Sheppey he was to be buried in a chapel of Minster church where lay the bodies of his first wife and various of his ancestors. He was to have a separate tomb near his wife's. His executors were to spend a sum "as shall stande beste wythe the honor of god, my degree and callinge" on dirges, masses and other obsequies and on alms for the poor, at the time of his burial, his "month's mind" and "twelve months mind". He left £60 for repair of the church and steeple of Minster, and instructions that the family chapel be repaired and a marble tomb "graven with pictures" prepared. During the nonage of his son Henry £20 yearly was to be spent on a chantry priest to pray for his soul, his parents' souls and the souls of all Christians, three days in the week. His will was made within a few weeks after Elizabeth's accession and while the church was still fully Roman Catholic.

Sheppey is a little less than forty miles as the crow flies from the Tower of London, where Cheyne died, and rather more by road. His executors decided he should rest in Sheppey. Henry Machyn, merchant of London, noted that on a January day in 1559 "was buried in the Isle of Sheppey my lord warden of the five ports and master treasurer to the queen's house and knight of the Garter with standard and a great banner of arms, five bannerolls of arms, four banners of images, three heralds of arms, a hearse of five principals of wax, five dozen penselles,

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(1) Sussex Archaeological Collections VI p.54 The account taken from the Doddington Mss. in the Ashmolean Museum. Browne's tomb is illustrated by drawings in XXVIII p. 154 and described in L XLII pp.228-31. There is a photograph in V.C.H.Sussex IX p.110.

ten dozen scutcheons of arms, four white branches and a dozen torches. Fifty poor men had gowns and a hundred and fifty in black gowns and coats.<sup>(1)</sup> His tomb is of white marble, carved with the coats of arms of his own and allied families, as was the custom. His alabaster effigy wears the handsome armour of the day. There are small ruffs at the neck and wrists, his head is upon a helm and his feet on an animal, probably a hound, now headless and legless. His robe carries the badge of the Garter on the left side, the George and Dragon around his neck hangs from a collar of roses and knots, the Garter itself is below the left knee and a sword is belted to his side. The face is one of dignified age, cheeks and temples sunken, beard and moustaches long. Henry Cheyne was less heedful of his father's wishes than the executors had been, for in 1581 he obtained licence to remove the remains of his ancestors to the church proper, having sold the materials of the chapel.<sup>(2)</sup>

Audley was of a more economical turn of mind than Browne and Cheyne. He directed that he be buried with little pomp in the church of the parish where he died and then conveyed as privately as possible to the tomb prepared in his "new chapel" at Walden. His object was presumably to avoid the expense of a journey with pageant such as we have already encountered. The tomb in Saffron Walden church does not now stand in a separate chapel and there is nothing to indicate that it ever did. It is of black Belgian slate and has little to commend it.<sup>(3)</sup>

Fitzwilliam's will instructed that if he died within

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(1) Machyn Diary p.184 (2) Bramston History of Minster p.35 Weever Funeral Monuments p.80. (3) Chancellor Ancient Sepulchral Monuments of Essex pp.284-7; contains detailed drawings of the tomb.

a hundred miles of his house in Sussex he was to be buried in Midhurst church and five hundred marks spent on a chapel and tomb for himself and his wife. A hundred pounds was to be given to poor householders and other honest persons near his Guildford house to pray for the souls of himself, his parents and all Christians. But he died at Newcastle on Tyne and his coffin lay in the church with daily service said over it until Browne, who was with him, learned the instructions in the will. There he is presumably buried, for the new chapel and tomb at Midhurst were never built.<sup>(1)</sup>

Wallop's will simply said that his body should be given burial where his wife should decide. Machyn records that he died in July 1551 and was buried with standard and banners of arms, coat armour, helmet, target of the Garter, sword and eight dozen scutcheons - "and a mermaid was his crest", but he does not say where he was buried. It was probably at Guisnes, for the repair of whose church he left five pounds, and where he died.<sup>(2)</sup>

Denny had strong views on funerals. If his soul should leave his body where his executors might easily come by it they were to see it honestly restored to the earth with thanksgiving for the loan thereof so long, without superfluous charges or the giving of black garments, except to his poor servants and the needy. He besought them to "convert the abused use and order of mourning that had long crept into executors and other dissembled friends under a shadow of faithful friendship" into a "most godly and earnest study of virtuous upbringing for his posterity". His sole executrix was his wife and she presumably honoured his wishes, for he has no known grave.

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(1)L.P.XVII;951. (2)Machyn Diary p.8.

Appendix - Account Roll of Fitzwilliam's Household  
Steward at Guildford 1529-30

Unpublished. Noted in P.R.O. Lists & Indexes XXXV p.317  
 One roll of eight sheets of paper.

The steward was Sir Richard Ambrose, a priest. The period covered is uncertain, being initially given as 30 March 19 Henry VIII to 20 May 20 Henry VIII, both dates being in 1529, but it seems likely that the latter date should be 1530 (21 Henry VIII), for Ambrose is subsequently described as being steward for the nine weeks 20 April to 22 June, and he made payments during the times of his successors Sir John Watton, also a priest, and Thomas Sonbank, and to the clerk of the kitchen, in turn from 22 June to April (1530).

The bulk of the income was in cash payments from Fitzwilliam or his servants (£204.13.9), followed by proceeds from the sale of woad (£74.6.2½), cattle (£12.13.0), firewood (£5.10.0), hides and fells (£2.6.8) and the carting of timber (£1.5.0). Expenditure on comestibles for the household totalled £94.0.5½, wages for servants and forest keepers for three quarters of a year, £62.11.6, a variety of expenses about the house and manor, £18.7.0½ costs of the stable £18.7.2, various repairs to buildings etc., £9.15.1½. There also appears the large sum of £24 for the purchase of woollen cloth to be sent to Southampton, presumably for shipment abroad. According to the account, (the arithmetic of which is slightly inexact), income totalled £303.17.5½ and expenditure £234.4.3½.

The latter part of the account deals with cattle, sheep, malt and oats, bought and sold, and in keeping. Some cattle were sent to Calais for sale and some used for victualling ships, perhaps Fitzwilliam's own.

Account of the Steward of the Household to  
Sir William Fitzwilliam at Guildford

20 Henry VIII One roll  
Public Record Office E 101 / 518 / 46  
.....

The Manor of Guldeford

Here ensuyth thacconte of Sr Ambrose Prest Steward  
of howsehold here unto the Ryght onorable Knyght  
Sr William ffytzwilliam Treasoure unto our Soverayne  
Lorde that now ys Kyng Henri the viij<sup>th</sup> of his most  
honorable howsehold of the moste noble order of the  
garter knight As well of suche sommes of money  
whiche Blank receyved at sundry tymes of divers  
persones & ~~of all~~ is suche money by hym receyved of  
all the p'ce of .....ffetts comyng of sondry cattell  
As Bulloks Steres Kyne Kalves & Shepe & As of tken  
thenployment & expending of the same towarde the coste  
& expences of the said howsehold with the provysion  
of sondry cattell & other thyngs bought & provyded  
for the same household & what remayneth of the same  
where & in whoes kepyng That is to saye from the  
xxx<sup>th</sup> daye of Marche in the xix<sup>th</sup> yere of our soverayne  
lorde kyng henry the viij<sup>th</sup> unto the xiiij<sup>th</sup> daye of  
maye xx<sup>th</sup> ~~daye~~ yere of the said kyng As here after  
more playnely ye expressed & declared at large

That ys to saye

Money receyved by the said Steward

My Lady Lucy

As well for certen Lx s. here costs & expenses at  
her beyng at Guldeford manor As for vj copull ij s. vj d.  
of conyes to her sold at her departyng from thens  
unto Coln as by a boke parcells made by the said  
steward hit doth appere

Lxij<sup>s</sup> vj<sup>d</sup>

## Woad Sold

Also for receyvd of diverse persones for Lxxv half  
bales of woad to them sold according to the  
comannment of my, said master] Lxxiiij<sup>li</sup> vj<sup>s</sup> ij<sup>d</sup> ob

## Cattyll Sold

Also receyved as well for x oxen di. of the provision  
of henry Exall at Coventre ffayre sold unto dyverse  
persones by the said Steward ix<sup>li</sup> viij<sup>s</sup> as for iij  
bulloks of the said store sold to Thomas rede xLv<sup>s</sup>  
and for iij bullocks of the provisyon of the said  
Steward at Waybrigge ffayre xx<sup>s</sup> xij<sup>li</sup> xiiij<sup>s</sup>

My Master Sr William ffytzwilliam and  
of other his Servantes by his comande

Also receyved of my master at sundry tymes Cxxxvj<sup>li</sup>  
vj<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> Item by thande of Thomas Armorer receyvor  
unto my said master xxxix<sup>li</sup> xviiiij<sup>s</sup> ix<sup>d</sup> Item by thande  
Edward<sup>vj</sup> li Iham & Richard ffletcher xx li viij<sup>s</sup> & viij<sup>d</sup>

And of John Chatterton for money by hym payde in  
parte of payment of the wages of dyverse my masters  
servants whereof the same Steward hath taken allowance

xxvj li viij s viij d Summa

CCiiij<sup>li</sup> xiiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

## Hydes &amp; Calveskyns Sold

Also receyved of the Steward of Bygnall & other  
for x oxe hydes price le hide iij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> iij Sterehydes  
& 1 cowhyde price le hide ij<sup>s</sup> & v calveskynnes price  
le pece ij<sup>d</sup> whiche were kylled & spent within the  
said howsehold & sold by the said Steward according  
to the said parcells xLij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

## ffels sold

Also receyved for ix fells sold coming of parte  
of the shepe expended within the said howsehold  
whiche were sold by the said Steward at the rate  
of vjd a pece iiij s vjd

[End of sheet 1]

Hides and fells

xLij<sup>s</sup> ij<sup>d</sup>

ffyrewood sold

Also receyved for CCxxiiij lodes of ffyre wood sold by the said steward unto dyverse persones at sundry prices as by the said stewards boke hit doth appere

C<sup>s</sup> x<sup>d</sup>

Also receyved for the cartyng of xxxv lodes of tymbre caryed unto the ffreres at Guldeford in my master ys wayne towards the new buyldyng there price every lode carteyage xij d

xxxv<sup>s</sup>

Summa totall of the said receipts

CCCiiij<sup>li</sup> xvij<sup>s</sup> v<sup>d</sup> ob

The said accomptante asskyth allowance for Diverse sundry payments costs & expences made & employed for & upon

Emptyon of Oxen with other Catell Shepe & Lambes ffurst the said Steward demannedyth allowance as well for ij oxen and xiiij smale oxen as for xix Bulloks & Steres with 0ix kynne & ij calvys by hym provyded and bought at sundry ffayers & at dyvers prises to thuse of my master Sr William ffytzwilliam & his howsehold with the costes of provysyon and dryvyng of the same

Summa xx<sup>li</sup> iiiij<sup>s</sup> i<sup>d</sup>

And for Lv wethers & Ewes & xL lambes by hym in lykwyse provyded & brought of dyverse persones with certeyn ~~provysyon~~ expenses in the provysyon of them

vij<sup>li</sup> x<sup>s</sup> ij<sup>d</sup>

In all as by a boke of parcells made by the said steward upon the view of this declaracion duly perused rated examyned & proved more playnely hit

doth appere

xxvij<sup>li</sup> xiiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

Almanner of ffresshe acats with certeyn  
bred & bere & other household expences  
Also for certain ffresshe diats as Capons Chekens  
pygeons pyggs & ~~other acats~~ byeff lambe & veale  
with eggs mylk butter mustard harbes & yest &  
almanner of seffyshe & other acats bought in the  
market by the said steward & expended within the  
said howsehold by the space of ix wekes begynnynng  
the above said xx daye of April & endyng the xxij  
daye of June next ffolowyng

Summa Cviij<sup>s</sup> vj<sup>d</sup> ob

Also for bere bought & expended in the said howsehold  
duryng the same ix wekes that the same Sr Richard  
occupyed as Steward Lxxj<sup>s</sup> as for the tyme that Sr  
John Watton prest & Thomas Sonbanke occupyed the said  
rome ix li. ix s.

Summa xiiij<sup>li</sup> ~~in all~~

Also in money debited by the said Sr Richard Ambrose  
to Sr John Watton prest who succeded the said Sr  
Richard in the said Stewardshippe according to my  
master ys comannndment for almanner of acats with  
bred & bere by hym provyded & bought for thexpence  
of the same howsehold from the said xxij daye of  
June unto the vj daye of September next ffolowyng

Summa xxvij<sup>li</sup> xj<sup>s</sup> iiiij<sup>d</sup>

Also for money by hym payd & debited unto Thomas  
Sonbanke who succeded the said Sr Richard Watton  
in the said Rowme according to my said master ys  
comannndement towards the expences of the said howsehold  
from the fforsaid vj day of September unto the  
xxiiij daye of december next ensuyng

Summa Lx<sup>s</sup> x<sup>d</sup>



Also for lyke

[End of sheet 2]

money by hym payd & debited to Alexannder Banaster  
clerk of the Kychyn there accordyng to my master  
ys comanndment towards thexpences of the same household  
from the said xxiiij daye of December unto the Blank  
daye of Aprill next ffolowyng

Summa

xviij li vj s vj d

In all as by the said Sr Richard Ambrose boke of  
parcells more playnely hit doth appere

Lxviij li vj s ij d ob

Wages of Servannts with certeyn Keperes of the  
fforest

Also payd by the said Sr Richard Ambrose for the  
wages of the howsehold servanntes & certeyn keperes  
of the fforest belongyng to my said master for iiij  
quarters of a yere ended at Crystmas lastpast &  
some of them for longer tyme & some for lesse every  
of them at sundry wages as by the said boke of  
parcells hit doth appere

Lxij li xj s vj d

Certeyn necessaryes bought with money & sondry  
fforeyn costs and expences

Also paid by the said Sr Richard Ambrose as well for  
certeyn Coveryngs of Cusshyngs of ledder bought  
with axes heggyng bylls mylkepayles botells erthen  
pottes tubbes hopes & hopyng of tubbes & other  
vessells sope loks & keyes henges nayles  
of dyverse sorts & many other necessaryes as for  
certeyn wyldefowle as Gullles heronsewes  
& other with the provysyon of them & certeyn corne  
& Earbage bought for the ffedyng of them And also  
for certeyn necessarye apparell bought and provyded  
for Elys broke ~~And also for~~ & the ffold

with the repayryng of the same & also for rewarde  
geven for takyng of ffyssh & wyldfowle & for hoggyng  
& ppollyng of Busshes in dyverse places & for certeyn  
reparacyons done opon the Stuff bought & provyded  
for the same & for many other necessary & fforeyn  
costs & expences by hym made within the tyme of this  
accompt As by the said boke of parcells more playnely  
hit doth appere

xviij li viij s ob

#### Rewards

Also payd by comanndment of my said master as well  
for a reward geven unto Wylkynson at his departyng  
out of servyce here vj s viij d As for a reward geven  
to John Stanbryght to bye some lyverey viij s as hit  
appereth by the same boke

xliij s viij d

#### Costs of the Stable

Also payd as well for woots strawe & other provender  
& certeyn necessaryes provided for the sustentacyon  
& saeffkepyng of my masters horses As for the  
mowyng of dyverse medowes with the makyng & ceryage  
of the hey commyng of the same unto the stable  
for the sustentacyon of the said horses & for  
saddles herynds horsecollers horsecloths & almaner  
of necessaryes belongyng to the same horses & for  
showyng and remowyng of them at sundry tymes as  
by the forsaid boke of parcells hit doth appere

xviij li xviij s ij d

[ End of sheet 3 ]

Summa of the whole charge  
of the said howesehold  
payed by the said accomptante

xx  
Ciiijxliij li x s x d

## Dyverse foreyne payments &amp; expences

## Reparacyons done at sundry places

Also payd by the said Sr Richard Ambrose for certeyn reparacyons done by the comannment of my said master as well at the hermytage Lxxv <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup> ob as at Colyer london Lij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup> with the squaryng & cutting of certeyn tymber in the wyldfelled necessarye for buyldyngs xxij <sup>s</sup> And also for certeyn costs & expences made by Alford & Spende at the Lymehowse xvij <sup>s</sup> & for Suowryng repayryng & amending of the welle xxvj <sup>s</sup> v <sup>d</sup> In all as by the forsaid boke hit doth appere

ix li xv s l d ob

Some of the said reparacyons &amp; other

fforeyn expences Blank

Money ~~de~~ delyvered to

My master Sir William ffytzwilliam

Also in money payd & debited to thuse of my said master Thatt ys to saye in the price of one parcell of wolleyne cloth bought by hys comannement of Master Perkens & sent unto Southampton where as hit was bestowed at his pleasure wich coste as hit apperyth by the boke of parcells

xxiiij li

Also in money debited to thands of my said master upon the determynacte of this accompte by thands of Geffraye Sound in of payement of Lx <sup>s</sup> by the same Jeffrey dew for certeyn woad by hym bought of my said master

xL s

~~xxvj li xvij s iiij d~~

xxvj li

my Lady Lucy

Also in money debited to my Lady Lucy by the comannement of my said master as hit apperyth by the same boke

Lxxviiij s viij d

Some of all the expence reparacyons  
payments & money debited as afore wrytten

CCxxxiiij <sup>li</sup> iiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup> ob

And so remayneth

Lxix <sup>li</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> ij <sup>d</sup>

whereof

[End of sheet 4]

Money Owyng upon this accompte

Sr Henry Owan knyght which the said accomptante

by the comandement of my said master

upon the obligacyon of the said Sr Henry remayneng  
in the custodye of my master amountyng to the some  
of

Lxix <sup>li</sup>

Gefferey Sounde for money by hym dew for certeyn  
woad bought of my master over & above iiij <sup>s</sup> x <sup>d</sup> ob  
by hym payd to the said accomptante & xL <sup>s</sup> to  
thands of my master upon the determynacyon of this  
accompte

xiiij <sup>s</sup> ij <sup>d</sup>

Thomas Polsted for xx lodes of ffyrewood to hym  
sold by the said accomptante within the tyme of this  
accompte oute of the comen of Worplesden price  
every lode v <sup>d</sup> wherof as yet he hath payd no thyng

~~Lxxiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>~~ viij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>

And so the said Sr Richard Ambrose now accomptante  
in surplusage

viij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>

Here ffolwyth a Reareaccompte made by the said  
accomptante not onely of such catell as he receyved  
of my master in to his charge upon the determynacyon  
of ffletchers accompte his predecessor in this  
offyce of Stewardsshipp of howsehold but also of  
all such catell as hath ben provyded & dyverse  
others to thuse of my said master within the tyme  
of this accompte & ffurthermore how hit ys expended  
& what remayneth therof now upon the determinate

of the said accompte

that ys to saye

Oxen bullocks & steres

ffurste the same Sr Richard yeldyth accompte of  
vij oxen by hym recyved of the Remayne of Richard  
ffletcher his predecessor in the said Rowme wherof  
l was fatte & vj of them were draught oxen Also  
of ix bullocks by hym provyded in lykewyse of the  
remayne of the said accompte And of xix bulloks  
& steres by the said Sr Richard hym self provyded  
& bought at dyverse ffayers Also of xv oxen by hym  
bought in lyke manner at the said ffayers wherof  
ij were great & xiiij little Also of xx great oxen  
bought at Coyntre ffayre by henry Exall Also of  
ij oxen bought by Alexannder Banester Also of iij  
Steres or bulloks bought by the same Alexannder  
Also of xxj oxen bought at Uxbrigge fayre by Master  
Perkens Also of vj draught oxen bought by Robt  
hexall And of l oxe conyeyneng xxxviij peces receyved  
of the fforsaid ffletcher as byeff remayneng in the  
larder

Summa

Ciiij

[End of sheet 5]

Of the whiche ther ys expended in my master ys  
howesehold for the tyme of the said Sr Richard

in Watton ys tyme x Sonbanke ys tyme vj oxen di  
& in Alexander Banester tyme v in all as by every  
of thes bokes hit doth appere xxj oxen di Also  
ther ys dede in moreyn l great ox iij draught oxen  
& iij smale oxen or bullocks bought by Sr Richard  
vij Also there was geven to my Lady Lucy l  
Also there was drowned in Wyndesor Ryver that went  
in l Also ther were sent to henry<sup>vj</sup> Borman  
& John<sup>x</sup> Osborne for the vytaylyng of certeyn shyppes



Bulles

Also he yeldyth accompte of ij bulles whiche he receyved of the Remayne of ffletchers accompte

Summa ij whiche remayne in  
Guldeford Pk

[End of sheet 6]

Shepe Ewes & Wethers

Also he yeldyth accompte of v shepe Receyved of the Remayne of ffletchers Accompte Also of Lxx shepe of his owne provysion at sundry ffayers bought of dyverse persones Also bought of the executores of my Lady ~~Lucy~~ Rosse CCCL shepe & wether And also bought of Richard Clere Baylye to my lady Rosse C hogges & lambes

Summa Dxxv

Off the whiche ther ys expended in the fforsaid howsehold in the tyme of the fforsaid Sr Richard l Sir John Wattons tyme xj Also he hath debited unto Alexannder Banester now byeng clerke of Kechyn by his owne confession for expense of the said howsehold xv Also ther ys ded in moreyn wherof ther cam no profyte whyther of the bodyes nother of ffells xxxv

Summa Lxxj

And so remayneth CCCcxix

Wherof in the Custody of Wylliam Alfold xL  
Custody of Lawrens Egytt  
CCCLxxix

Lambes

Also he yeldyth accompte of xL lambes whiche he bought hymself amonge other cattell to thuse of the same howsehold

Summa xL lambes whiche Remayne with  
Wyllm Alford

Bores Soves hoggs wenyngs & Pyggs

Also he yeldyth accompte of xxix bores sowes hoggs

& wenyngs by hym receyved of the Remyne of ffletcher  
as aforsaid And of x piggs receyved of the said

Remyne                      Summa                      xxxix

Of the whiche ther were expended in the howsehold  
at Crystmasse in Alexannder Banesters tyme l bore  
Also ther ys ded as he allegyth    iij

Summa                      iiij bore

And so Remayneth                      xxxv

Whereof	in the custody of	l Sowe
	James Pemrose	& pygges x
	At the fferme Redy	iiij
	Killed	
	At the fferme & aboute	xij
	the fferme on lyve	
	In Guldeford Pk	l great bore
	lakyng & so knoweth	vij
	not where as yet	

Malt

Also he yeldeth accompte of v quarters of malt  
Receyved of the said Remyne of ffletchers accompte  
And of iiij quarters di of the provysyon of Watton  
& Sonbank at sondry tymes

Summa                      ix quarters di whiche were  
expended aswell in the Stable  
for the ffedyng of ij moyles  
as for the sustentacyon of the  
pultry within the same howsehold

[End of sheet 7]

Otes

Also he yeldeth accompte of xij quarters of the  
Remyne of ffletchers accompte    Also of Lx quarters



of his owne provysion Also of v quarters of the  
 said ffletchers remayne whiche remayned at the fferme  
 unthresshed Also of iiij quarters bz of the  
 provision of Sr John Watton Prest Also of xiiij quarters  
 ij bz of the provysion of Sonnbank iiij quarters &  
 Banester x quarters ij bz

xx

Summa iiij quarters whiche ben all expended  
 in the Stable for provender to  
 the horses

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